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THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

AND

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.





THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1887.

DURING the year 1887 the Department of Coins in the British Museum has acquired 176 coins of the Greek class, 8 of which are in gold, 58 in silver, 84 in bronze, and 26 in billon. A description of the most noteworthy of these acquisitions is given in the following pages.

SYRACUSE.

Obr.—Head of Apollo l., laur.; behind, thunderbolt: border of dots.

Rer.—**ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ.** Tripod-lebes: plain border. Electrum. Size .6. Weight 55·5 grains.

Of the period b.c. 345—317. It is similar to the specimen described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Sicily*, "Syracuse," p. 183, No. 253, and photographed in Head, *Syracuse*, N.C. xiv. Pl. VI., 2, but has a new symbol, the thunderbolt.

AEROPUS, KING OF MACEDONIA, B.C. 396—392.

Obr.—Head of young Herakles r. in lion's skin.

Rer.—**ΑΕΡΟΠΟΣ.** Wolf's head r.; beneath, club: the whole in slight incuse square.
R. Size .3. Weight 7 grs. [Pl. I. 7.]

Hitherto Aeropus was only known to have issued bronze money.¹ The present coin is identical, except as regards the inscription, with a half obol struck by Archelaus I., the predecessor of Aeropus (B.C. 413—399), and engraved in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Macedonia*, p. 165, No. 11.

AENUS (THRACE).

Obr.—Head of Hermes r. in pileus.

Rev.—ΑΙΝΙ. Goat r.; in field r.; dog r.: the whole in incuse square.

A.R. Size 1. Weight 259·5 grs.

The symbol on the reverse is not mentioned in Mionnet, nor in the *Historia Numorum* (p. 213). The treatment of the head is somewhat softer and less archaic than on some of the other coins of Aenus of the same period (B.C. 450—400).

MARONEA (THRACE).

Obr.—Head of young Dionysos l., wreathed with ivy.

Rev.—ΜΑΡΩΝΙ ΤΕΩΝ. . . .² Within square compartment, vine-branch from which hangs a large bunch of grapes with leaves and tendrils; on r. of compartment, thyrsus filleted: the whole in incuse square.

A.R. Size '45. Weight 249·5 grs. [Pl. I. 11.]

A fine tetradrachm of light Attic weight, probably struck shortly before B.C. 400.³ A few other specimens

¹ Cp. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 194; Imhoof, *Porträtköpfe*, p. 13.

² Magistrate's name, nearly obliterated: traces of ΑΟΗ... (?)

³ Cp. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 216.





with similar though not identical types have already been published as follows :—

1. *Obv.*—Head of young Dionysos l., wreathed with ivy.

Rev.—**ΜΑΡΩ ΝΙΤΩΝ ΕΓΙΑ ΘΗΝΕΩ.** Within square compartment, vine-branch from which hang four small bunches of grapes: the whole in incuse square.

R. Mionnet's size 6½. Described in Mionnet, i. p. 889, No. 164.

The head (judging from Mionnet's sulphur cast) is of careless workmanship.

2. *Obv.*—Caput Bacchi hedera coronatum ad s.

Rev.—**ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΗΡΟΦΙΛΟΥ.** Vitis botris gravida intra quadrum et quadratum incusum.

R. Described in Sestini, *Mus. Helveticus*, Enope i. p. 57, No. 5.

A specimen with the same magistrate's name (*Rev.* vine-branch with four small bunches of grapes) came to the British Museum with the Woodhouse collection. It is certainly a modern forgery.

3. *Obv.*—Head of young Dionysos l., wreathed with ivy.

Rev.—**ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝΕΡ ΙΜΗΤΡ[ΟΦΑ] ΝΕΟΣ.** Within square compartment, vine-branch from which hang four small bunches of grapes: the whole in incuse square.

R. Mionnet's size 6. Described in Mionnet i. p. 889, No. 165. (A sulphur cast of it in the Brit. Mus.)

The head is treated in a soft and pleasing style, and differs a good deal from the head on the coin lately acquired by the British Museum. The latter head, though of fine style, is less ideal and more portrait-like.

4. *Obr.*—Head of young Dionysos l., wreathed with ivy.

Rev.—ΜΑΡΩΝΙ ΤΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΦ ΑΝΕΟΣ.

Within square compartment, vine-branch, from which hang four small bunches of grapes; beneath vine-branch a Silenus-head: the whole in incuso square.

R. Size 25^m. Weight 16·20 grammes.
Collection of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer: see
Zeit. f. N. iii. p. 286, Pl. VI. 18.

The head is of the same character as that on No. 3, but is more beautifully rendered. A specimen (weight 251·7 grains) with similar types, though inferior on the obverse, was acquired by the British Museum in 1839. It was not described in the Museum Catalogue, *Tauric Chersonese . . . Thrace, &c.*, as its genuineness was suspected. Though the obverse is not in a very satisfactory condition, I do not myself see any pressing reason for doubting the coin. Mr. Poole and Mr. Head are also now inclined to believe it genuine.

5. *Obr.*—“Head of a bacchante to the left, bound with a crown composed of ivy leaves and fruits.” [i.e. Head of young Dionysos l., wreathed with ivy.]

Rev.—ΜΑΡΩΝΙ ΤΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟ. “Vine with large bunches of grapes within a square described by four equilateral bars in relief; outside theseo bars is the above legend and a thyrsus: the whole within a flat sunk square.”

R. Mionnet’s size 7. Weight 255^{1/2} grs.

Formerly in the collection of Mr. H. P. Borrell. It was described by him in the *Num. Chron.* iii. (1841) p. 110, No. 9. The thyrsus also occurs on the new specimen in the British Museum.

OLBIA. (After *circ. B.C. 350.*)

Obr.—Bearded and horned male head l. (River-god Borysthenes?).

Rev.—**oABIO.** Axe, and bow in case; in field, **MH.**
AE. Size .85.

A variety of the specimens already described in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Tauric Chersonese, &c.,* p. 11, Nos. 4—12. (Cp. Burachkov, *Coins of Olbia, &c.* (Odessa, 1884), vol. i., p. 45; Köhne, *Mus. Kotschoubey,* i., p. 43, No. 31; von Sallet, *Beschreibung der. ant. Münzen* (Berlin) i. p. 24, No. 102.)

PELINNA (THESSALY).

Obr.—Horseman wearing causia and chlamys, riding l.

Rev.—**Γ ΕΛΙ ΝΝΑΙΩ.** Draped female figure, wearing wreath and veil, standing r. and opening casket with her right hand.

AE. Size .7. [Pl. I. 8.]

This specimen belongs to the period B.C. 300—190 of the coinage of Pelinna. Several others with similar types are known, of which one is in the National Collection at Athens (*Postolaca, Nop. ἐν τ. εθ. Μουσ.,* 1885, Pl. I. 1; p. 232). A horseman, and a warrior armed with a spear are common types at Pelinna. The reverse type is curious, and recalls the toilet-scenes in the vase paintings where an attendant holds or opens a casket. Perhaps the veiled female figure on this coin is a priestess of

some local goddess, or possibly the goddess herself. On copper coins⁴ of Pelinna of the same period a veiled female head occurs as the obverse type. Professor Gardner has described the head as that of a queen, but perhaps it is the same local priestess or goddess who is seen opening the casket.

THEBAE (THESSALY).

Obv.—Head of Demeter l., veiled and wreathed with corn: border of dots.

Rev.—ΟΗΒΑΙΩ[N]. Horse r.; beneath, X (monogram of the Achaeans of Phthiotis).
Æ. Size .7.

Belongs to the period B.C. 302—286. A similar specimen in the Berlin Cabinet is described in *Zeitschrift für Num.* i., p. 175.

PANDOSIA (EPIRUS).

Obv.—Head of Zeus of Dodona l., laureate.

Rev.—Thunderbolt; above it, ΜΕ; below it, ΠΑΝ: the whole in oak-wreath.
Æ. Size .85.

Of the period B.C. 238—168. The specimen with the same types already in the British Museum (*Cat., Thessaly—Aetolia*, p. 109, Pl. XXXII., 9) has an inscription (ΑΓΙΑС) on the obverse and (apparently) no letters above the thunderbolt.

⁴ Gardner, *Cat. Thessaly—Aetolia*, p. 88, Nos. 6, 7. [Pl. VIII. 5, 6.]

DELPHI (Phocis).

Obv.—Head of negro (Delphos ?) r. : border of dots.

Rev.—T thrice repeated.

R. Size .4. Weight 9 grs. [Pl. I. 2.]

A tritartemorion,⁵ probably of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. It is not described in Head's *Historia Numorum*.

THEBES (Bœotia).

Obv.—Bœotian shield.

Rev.—Ο Ε Head of bearded Herakles in lion's skin, facing: the whole in incuse square.

R. Size .9. Weight 186 grs. [Pl. I. 5.]

A rare stater (unfortunately somewhat rubbed on the reverse) of the period B.C. 426—395. (Cp. B. V. Head, *Coins of Bœotia*, N.C. 1881, p. 211, where this type is described.) It is remarkable for the rugged treatment of the full-face head of Herakles. A specimen with similar types is in the Berlin Museum,⁶ and another with a head of Herakles of slightly different style is photographed in the *Num. Zeitschrift*⁷ from the original in the Naples Museum.

ATHENS.

(Period of Hadrian and the Antonines.)

Obv.—Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

⁵ Cp. Head, *Catal. Central Greece*, p. xxxii., and Gardner, *Catal. Peloponnesus*, p. xviii.

⁶ From the Fox Collection: see Fox, *Engravings of Uncolored, &c., Supplemental Plate*, No. 12.

⁷ Vol. ix. (1877), Pl. II., No. 129; p. 42, No. 129.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝ. . . Ν Athena standing r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet, long chiton with diplois and aegis; she holds in r. spear, and on l. arm, shield; before her, serpent.
Æ. Size ·8.

Acquired since the publication of Mr. Head's *Cat. Attica*. It is a variety of p. 94, No. 680 (without serpent) in that work, and the reverse (and obverse?) is similar to Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, Pl. A A, No. IX. (from the Loebbecke coll.).

ATHENS.

Obr.—Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑ ΙΩΝ Athena standing l., wearing crested Corinthian helmet, chiton and peplos; her raised r. resting on spear; behind her, serpent and shield.
Æ. Size ·8.

Not in *Cat. Attica*. A similar reverse-type is described and photographed in Imhoof and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 134, Pl. A A, No. VII., but the serpent has not been noted.

PATRAE (ACHAIA).

Obr.—Head of bearded Herakles r., bare.

Rev.—ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝ ΛΥΣΙΑΤΤΑΤΡΕΩΝ (round the coin); in field r., ΠΑΛΛΑΣ. Pallas wearing helmet and chiton with diplois advancing r.; in r. spear; in l. shield.
Æ. Size ·9.

Belongs to the series of coins of Patrae, assigned by Professor Gardner, in his catalogue of *Peloponnesus*, p. 23, to

B.C. 146—32. It has been acquired since the publication of that work.⁸

ACHAEAN LEAGUE.—CALLISTA.

Obr.—**ΑΝΤΑΝ ΔΡΟΣ** Zeus Homagyrius standing l.; in r. Nike; in l., sceptre: border of dots.

Rev.—**ΑΧΑΙΩΝ [ΚΑΛΛΙΣ]ΤΑΤΑΝ** Demeter Panachaea (or Achaia personified?) seated l.; in r., wreath; in l., sceptre: border of dots.
Æ. Size '7.

This rare coin has been acquired since the publication of the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Peloponnesus*. A similar specimen, in the Turin collection, is engraved in the *Zeit. für Num.* for 1882 (vol. ix., p. 258), and is attributed by Dr. Weil to a town Callista, not otherwise known, but probably situated in Arcadia.

ELIS.

Obr.—Head of Apollo r., laureate: border of dots.

Rev.—**F H P** Α Zeus, naked, striding r.; in r., thunderbolt; on l., eagle; in field r., wreath.
Æ. Size '8.

Struck after B.C. 191. It has been acquired since the publication of *Cat. Peloponnesus*. (Cp. Gardner, *Coins of Elis*, N.C. 1879, p. 267.) The wreath, presumably of olive, appears as a type on other coins of Elis, which are later in style than the present specimen.

⁸ A similar specimen is described in Mionnet, Sup. vol. iv., p. 134, No. 905.

Argos. (B.C. 228—146.)

Obr.—Forepart of wolf r.

Rev.—Α; beneath it, thunderbolt; in field, Ι Ο : the
 Σ ΧΥΛ
 whole in shallow incuse square.

R. Size .6. Weight 36.9 grs.

Obr.—Forepart of wolf r.

Rev.—Α; beneath it, term; in field, Κ Ι : the whole
 \circ Σ
 in shallow incuse square.

R. Size .6. Weight 36.9 grs.

Obr.—Head of Argive Hera r., wearing stephanos.

Rev.—Quiver; in field, ΘΙΟ ΔΕ; in field l., helmet; in
 field r., Β.
 Δ. Size .6.

Not described in the *Cat. Peloponnesus*. With the bronze compare the specimen described in *Num. Zeitschrift*, iii. p. 403, No. 30 (with ΟΟ ΔΕ).

THE ARCADIANS.* (Circ. B.C. 480—417.)

Obr.—Zeus Aphesius, wearing himation, seated l.; on back of seat, eagle perched l.; in r. of Zeus, sceptre.

Rev.—Head of Artemis r., in net: incuse square.
 R. Size .6. Weight 46 grs. [Pl. I. 6.]

Obr.—Zeus Aphesius, wearing himation, seated r.; in r., eagle, with wings closed, r.; in l., sceptre.

Rev.—Head of Artemis r., in net: incuse square.
 R. Size .6. Weight 40.8 grs.

These are not described in the *Cat. Peloponnesus*.

* Cp. Gardner, *Cat. Peloponnesus*, p. lvii. f, and the ref. to Imhoof and Weil there given.

ALEA (ARCADIA).

The Museum has lately acquired an example of the bronze coin of Alea with *obv.*, Head of Artemis r. *Rev.* ΑΛ Strung bow,¹⁰ described in Imhoof, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 186, No. 165, and figured in *Revue Numismatique*, Pl. VI., 10 (Soutzo coll.) and *Cat. Lemme*, 1872, Pl. I., 157.

TEGEA (ARCADIA). (B.C. 491—870.)

Obv.—Head of Pallas r., wearing crested helmet.

Rev.—ΤΕΓΕΑ Cock r.
Æ. Size .5. [Pl. I. 12.]

Not in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Peloponnesus*.

A similar specimen is engraved by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in his *Choix*, Pl. III. No. 85 (cp. his *Monn. grecques*, p. 209, No. 279). He suggests that the cock may be an agonistic symbol, alluding to the games celebrated at Tegea in honour of Athene Alaia.

AXUS (CRETE).

Obv.—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

Rev.—ΦΑΞ ΙΩΝ Tripod.
Æ. Size .75. Weight 77 grs. [Pl. I. 1.]

Probably issued B.C. 350—300. A similar specimen is engraved in *Num. Zeit.*, vol. viii. Pl. I. 4, and several examples are known (see Kenner in *Num. Zeit.*, viii. p. 17).¹¹

¹⁰ Cp. the Ά coin of Alea in *Cat. Peloponnesus*, p. 177.

¹¹ For the types, cp. Wroth, *Cat. Crete and Aegean Islands*, Pl. III. 15.

The coins attributed in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete*, to the Cretan town Naxos (p. 59, cp. p. xxxviii.) belong to Axos, as Halbherr (*Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.* xi., 84), has now shown.¹²

GORTYNA (CRETE).

Obv.—Europa, wearing stephanos and peplos over lower limbs, seated r. (head facing) in tree; in l., sceptre surmounted by bird; her r. caresses eagle.

Rev.—Bull r., looking back: border of dots.
A.R. Size 1. Weight 175·6 grs. [Pl. I. 8.]

This fourth century didrachm with the Hera-like figure of Europa¹³ has been acquired since the publication of the *Catalogue of Crete, &c.* It is from the same die as the specimen described by Mionnet (ii. p. 279, No. 171), and photographed (from one of Mionnet's casts) by Gardner in his *Types* (Pl. IX. 18, *obv.* only). Several similar specimens are known, *e.g.* one engraved in *Descrip. Mus. Hunter*, Pl. 28, No. 22 (with fly under bull).

GORTYNA (CRETE).

Obv.—Head of Apollo r., laureate.

¹² I take this opportunity of making two corrections in my *Cat. Crete, &c.* The head on No. 6, p. 2 [Pl. I. 4], described as "Antonia?" is, doubtless, as M. J. P. Six has suggested to me, the head of *Livia*, the grandmother of Claudius. The copper coin, p. 5, No. 80 [Pl. I. 12], with a nearly illegible inscription in the exergue, is—as M. Svoronos has kindly pointed out—a coin of *Alexandria*. I may also notice that the coin No. 27, p. 85 [Pl. VII. 7], of Prof. Gardner's valuable catalogue, *Peloponnesus*, attributed to Phlius, belongs to *Gortyna*, and is similar to *Cat. Crete*, Pl. XI. 18. The inscription on the specimen had unfortunately become illegible.

¹³ Cp. Gardner, *Types*, p. 165.

Rev.—Head and neck of bull r., in circular incuse depression.

A.E. Size .7. Weight 86·6 grs. [Pl. I. 15.]

A coin¹⁴ of the latter part of the fourth century, B.C. In its fabric and reverse-type it closely resembles the specimen photographed in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete, &c.*, Pl. XI. No. 2. The head of Apollo is of commonplace style and resembles the head on silver coins of Cnossus (*Cat. Crete*, Pl. V. 13).

LATUS (CRETE). (B.C. 200—67.)

Obv.—Head of Artemis l. [wearing stephane]; hair tied in knot behind: border of dots.

Rev.—Λ Δ Draped bust of Hermes l., wearing petasus; at his shoulder, caduceus; the whole in incuse square.

A.E. Size .4.

Not in the Museum *Cat. Crete* (cp. p. 54). A similar specimen (without the caduceus?) is described by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer (*Monn. Gr.* p. 217) from his own collection.

LISUS ? (CRETE).

Obv.—Ι Ι Eagle flying r.; two linear borders united by crossing bars.

Rev.—ΑΛΕΞΑ ΝΔΡΟ Υ Eagle flying r.: border of dots.

N. Size .45. Weight 15·7 grs. [Pl. I. 18.]

Belongs to a series of very thin gold coins, of which several types and varieties are known (see Spratt, *Travels in*

¹⁴ Not published in *Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete, &c.*

Crete, ii. p. 215, and his paper in *Num. Chron.*, 1887, p. 309; Margaritis in *Rev. Num.*, 1886, p. 20). The Cretan provenance of the specimens is certain. They all bear an eagle on one side and sometimes on both; this type and the presence of the letters Υ Λ on some of the pieces have led numismatists to suppose that they were issued at Lyttus. The eagle and border of dots on the specimen now before us resemble those on a copper coin of Lyttus photographed in my *Cat. of Crete, &c.*, Pl. XIV. 8, and there assigned to B.C. 300—220. The inscription seems to be Ι 1, for what appear at first sight to be additional letters are merely striations in the metal. M. Svoronos has suggested (in a private letter to the British Museum) that Ι 1 = ΛΙ, and that this coin was issued at the town of Lisus, in Crete. M. Svoronos is further of opinion that none of the coins of this class belong to Lyttus, one of his reasons being that the specimens (including some in silver,¹⁵) are found in the western part of Crete, and thus far from Lyttus. He has an ingenious theory as to their attribution, on which, however, as he (I believe) intends publishing it, it would not be fair to enlarge.

SIPHNO.

Obr.—Female head r. (Artemis?); hair rolled and bound with cord.

Rev.—Σ | Φ Eagle flying r.; above head, leaf.
R. Size .55. Weight 57·5 grs. [Pl. I. 4.]

A coin of the latter part of the fifth, or of the early part of the fourth century B.C. In the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Crete and Aegean Islands* (p. 121) the Siphnian coins described are

¹⁵ Cp. Margaritis in *Rev. Num.* 1886, p. 20, No. 21.

silver of the seventh and sixth centuries, and of the early part of the fifth century, and bronze coins of the fourth century. The present specimen, though of good style, with the eye correctly drawn in profile, is the offspring of the early fifth century coins (see *Cat. Crete, &c.*, Pl. XXVII. 11—13), as may be seen not only in the close similarity of the types, but also in the severely simple treatment of the hair.

Dr. Weil (*Hist. u. phil. Aufsätze, E. Curtius gewidmet.* Berlin, 1884, p. 128) considers the archaic head on coins of Siphnos (*Cat. Crete, &c.*, Pl. XXVII. 11—13) to be that of Apollo,¹⁶ but the head is not necessarily male, and on the silver and copper of a later period the head is undoubtedly female (cp. *Cat. Crete, &c.*, Pl. XXVII. 14, 15). There is a remarkable unity in the style of the Siphnian coinage, and in my catalogue of *Crete, &c.*, I have therefore described both the archaic and the fine heads as female. The personage represented may be Artemis, a goddess who is known to have been worshipped at Siphnos.

POLEMO II. (KING OF PONTUS, &c.).

Obr.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΕΜ** . . . Head of Polemo II. r., diademed: border of dots.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙ**
ΛΙΣΣΗΣ
ΤΡΥΦΑΙ (Name of Antonia Tryphaena, mother
ΝΗΣ of Polemo II.) encircled by diadema.
 A.R. Size .7. Weight 51·7 grs. [Pl. I. 18.]

A specimen of this rare coin was in Mr. Borrell's collec-

¹⁶ So also Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, vol. iii. (Apollo), p. 72; *Münztafel*, ii. No. 1.

tion (wt. 46 grains) and is described in his MS. Catalogue in the British Museum.

SAUROMATES I. (KING OF BOSPORUS).

Obr.—**ΤΙ · ΙΟΥΛΙΟC · ΒΑΣΙΛΕYC CAYPO-**
MATOY (sic). Bust of Sauromates I. r., diademed and draped; with moustache and long hair; border of dots.

Rev.—Head of Nerva r., laur.; beneath ΓΡΤ (393 = A.D. 97).

A. Size .8. Weight 120·2 grs. [Pl. I. 19.]

This rare stater is remarkable for the unusually fine treatment of the king's portrait. A specimen with the same date (393) is published by Burachkov (*Olbia, &c.*, Pl. XXVIII., No. 134; p. 255).

CYZICUS (MYSIA).

Obr.—Tunny within wreath formed of two ears of corn.

Rev.—[Κ] Wreath, within which Λ; beneath wreath,
Ι Δ (or φ).
Æ. Size .65.

Coins of this type have sometimes been attributed to Dyme in Achaea, and to other places. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, who has published a list of the varieties (*Monnaies Grecques*, pp. 243—244; cp. p. 164) has shown that they belong to Cyzicus. The full inscription is $\frac{\kappa}{\iota} \gamma$, but this rarely, if ever, appears complete on the specimens. Our specimen is similar to one in Dr. Imhoof's collection (No. 83 in his *Monn. Gr.*, p. 244) and may possibly, like his, be a re-struck coin. It apparently belongs to the fourth century B.C.

GARGARA (MYSIA).

Obr.—Head of Apollo r., bare.

Rev.—ΓΑΡΓΑ. Bull grazing l.; the whole in incuse square.

R. Size .6. Weight 48·3 grs. [Pl. I. 17.]

Probably of the end of the fifth or of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. A laureato head of Apollo is the usual obverse type at Gargara, and the youthful head on this coin, which is treated with fine 'distinction of style,' is probably also Apollo.¹⁷ A similar head occurs on a British Museum coin of Gargara already published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd S., vol. vi. (1886), p. 254; Pl. XI. 8.

SPITHRIDATES (LAMPSACUS?).

Obr.—Bearded male head (Spithridates?) l., wearing Persian head-dress.

Rev.—ΣΠΙ ΟΠΙ. Half sea-horse r., winged.

R. Size .55. Weight 44·4 grs. [Pl. I. 14.]

This coin has the same types, and is probably from the same die, as the specimen first published by Von Rauch, from his own collection,¹⁸ and re-published by Dr. Von Sallet in the *Num. Zeit.* iii. (1871), p. 424. Two Persian commanders named Spithridates are historically known,¹⁹ one, the General who revolted from Pharnabazus (B.C. 396), the other, the Satrap of Ionia and Lydia (*circ.* B.C. 334).

¹⁷ General Fox, *Engravings of Unpublished. &c.*, Part II. p. 5, No. 29, and Plate, No. 29, describes (correctly?) a somewhat similar coin with *obr.* Young male head *diademed*.

¹⁸ *Berliner Blätter*, v. (1869), p. 29.

¹⁹ See Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 512.

Dr. Von Sallet²⁰ attributes the coins²¹ to the second Spithridates, chiefly on the ground that their style is that of the end rather than that of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. But a comparison of these coins with those of Orontas the Satrap²² (*circ. B.C. 360*), and with the obverse of the Satrapal coin attributed to Colophon²³ (*circ. B.C. 400*) will probably suggest that they may be—so far as style is concerned—of the *beginning* of the fourth century, and thus of the time of the first Spithridates. It must be granted, however, that, considerations of style apart, the second Spithridates (the Satrap) is more likely to have issued coins than the first Spithridates (the General). And between these conflicting claims it is difficult to decide, on our present evidence. The winged hippocamp on the silver coins may indicate (as suggested by Von Rauch) that they were struck at Lampsacus.

ABYDOS (TROAD).

Obr.—Head of Apollo l., laureate.

Rev.—**ΑΒΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ.** Eagle with closed wings standing r.; in front, aplustre; in field r., Θ : the whole in slight circular incuse.

R. Size .9. Weight 232·3 grs. [Pl. I. 10.]

A fine and rare stater²⁴ issued probably not later than

²⁰ *Num. Zeit.* iii. p. 424; so also Von Rauch, *l.c.*, and Imhoof, *Porträtköpfe*, p. 23.

²¹ Bronze coins, as well as silver, are known; see v. Sallet, *l.c.*, and a similar specimen in the British Museum acquired in 1874.

²² Von Sallet, *Num. Zeit.* iii. p. 419 f.; Waddington, *Mélanges*, ii. p. 19 f.

²³ Gardner, *Types*, Pl. X. 14.

²⁴ Cf. a specimen in the French collection (head r.) mentioned by Brandis, *Münzzeichen*, &c., p. 444; cf. Pellerin, *Recueil*, ii. Pl. LI. No. 9.

circ. b.c. 400, being the earliest coin of the long series at Abydos with types, Head of Apollo; *rev.* Eagle and magistrates' names. The aplustre and the slight incuse connect this coin with the gold stater of Abydos²⁵ issued about the end of the fifth century (*obv.* Nike sacrificing ram. *Rev.* Eagle; in front, aplustre: all in incuse).

The head of Apollo is one of unusual beauty, and differs considerably from other heads of that god found on Greek coins (compare a good representative series in Overbeck's *Griechische Kunstmystologie* (Apollo) Münztafel iii.). It recalls the finest Apollo heads on the coins of Chalcidice (Overbeck, *op. cit.* Münztafel ii., No. 30; Gardner, *Types*, Pl. VII., No. 13), but has an expression of greater earnestness.²⁶

LESEOS (*circ.* b.c. 450 ?)

Obr.—ΛΕΣΟΣ Cal's head l.

Rev.—Rough incuse square.

At. (base ?). Size .3. Weight 14·2 grs.
[Pl. I. 9.]

TYANA (CAPPADOCIA).

Obr.— AIANOCKAI. Bust of Trajan r., laureate.

Rev.—TVANΩΝΙΕΠΑCACVΛΑVTON. Pallas, draped and helmeted, standing looking towards l.; in her r., Nike; with l. she supports shield and spear; in field, ΕΤ A.
Æ. Size .8.

²⁵ Head, *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. XVIII. 14.

²⁶ Compare a Demeter head at Cyzicus, Gardner, *Types*, Pl. X. 45; and see Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 448, Fig. 270.

Compare a specimen with similar reverse type (**ΕΤ 1**) published in the *Annali* for 1847, p. 281; Pl. P. No. 7.

SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS IX.

Obr.—Head of Antiochus IX. r., diademed; with whisker and slight beard: fillet border.

Rev.— **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ** Tyche, wearing chiton, peplos
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ and modius, standing l.;
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ in r., rudder; in l., cornucopæ; in exergue, **ΣΙΞ**
(date, A. S. 216 = B.C. 96); to l., **E**; to r., **A**;
rose: the whole in olive-wreath.
A.R. Size 1·15. Weight 250·7 grs. [Pl. I. 21.]

A rare tetradrachm not described in Prof. Gardner's *Catalogue of the Seleucid Kings* (cp. a drachm, p. 92, No. 15; and Loebbecke, *Zeit. f. Num.*, xv. 1887, p. 53).

SELEUCIS AND PIERIA.

Tetrapolis of Antioch, Soloucia, Apameia and Laodiceia.

Obr.—Two Zeus-like heads r., jugate, wearing taenia (the Demi of Antioch and Seleucia?); border of dots.

Rev.—**ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ** Zeus seated l.; in r., Nike; in l.,
ΔΗΜΩΝ sceptre; in exergue, **ΕΞΡ** (year
ΒΥ 165 of Seleucid era = B.C. 148);
in field r., monogram.
A.E. Size 1.

Not described in Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* (cp. p. 656).

JUDÆA.

The Museum acquired at the beginning of 1887 a good specimen of a Jewish shekel (weight 216·5 grains²⁷) dated "year 5" [Pl. I. 20]. So far as I am aware, only two other examples of this coin are known, one (from a different die) in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, of Cambridge,²⁸ the other lately purchased by MM. Rollin and Feuardent (*Rev. Num.* vol. v., 3rd S. (1887) p. 371).

BAETRIA (MAUES).

Obr.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
ΜΑΥΟΥ. Zeus standing l., clad in himation; r. hand extended; in l., long sceptre.

Rev.—*Rajalirajasa mahatasa Moasa* (Prakrit inscr.). Nike standing r., holding wreath and palm bound with fillet; in field r., ♀.
A.R. Size .75. Weight 37·1. [Pl. I. 16.]

This hemi-drachm (Persian standard) is not described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Gr. and Scythic Kings*, where, however, a didraehm with similar types and inscriptions is described (p. 68, No. 3; Pl. XVI. 2). It seems to be unpublished.²⁹

A remarkable decadrachm of the time of Eueratides, or earlier, and other Baetrian coins of importance recently acquired by the Museum have been already described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (vol. vii. 3rd S. (1887), p. 177 ff.) by Prof. Gardner.

WARRICK WROTH.

²⁷ Types and inscriptions as usual; see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 68, 69.

²⁸ Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 69.

²⁹ For other coins of Maues, see von Sallet in *Z. f. N.* vi. p. 334 f.

II.

ON A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND AT EAST HARPTREE, NEAR BRISTOL.

THE County of Somerset is rich in Roman remains, and numerous hoards of Roman coins have at various times been discovered within its boundaries. At an early period of the Roman occupation the metalliferous mines in the Mendip Hills appear to have been worked, and the lead, of which many "pigs" of Roman date are formed, was probably derived from this source.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1866¹ I described a hoard of about 450 brass coins found in the Mendip Hills, about six miles from Frome, and belonging for the most part to the Constantine period, the latest being of Constantius II. Another hoard of about 350 brass coins, for the greater part struck in the London mint, seems to have been found in the district around Bristol, and was also described by me in 1885.² These coins were likewise of the Constantine period, the latest being of Constantine II. A far larger hoard of silver coins, belonging to a somewhat later date, was discovered somewhere in the same neighbourhood above twenty years ago, and came into my possession. The list of the types that it comprised I hope on some future occasion to communicate to the Society;

¹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. vi. p. 157.

² *Num. Chron.* 3rd S., vol. v. p. 118.

but in the meantime, I may observe that in the hoard were a large number of the coins of Magnus Maximus, among which were two bearing on the exergue AVG.P.S. and AVG., struck at London, which at that time bore the name of Augusta. An account of these two coins will be found in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1867.³ Both are now preserved in the national collection in the British Museum.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth, in a paper on Roman Somerset,⁴ has given a long list of localities in that county in which Roman coins have been found, and to the list there given may be added King's Weston⁵ and Milverton,⁶ and probably several other places. The Milverton hoard, though the metal of which the coins consisted is not mentioned in the *Archaeological Journal*, was probably of silver. The coins are said to have ranged from the time of Julianus to that of Arcadius, but among the 45 coins which are attributed to various reigns, 7 are described as being of Faustina!

Some silver coins found at Holway, and described by Dr. Hurly Pring, comprise specimens of Julianus II., Valens, Gratianus, Valentinianus II., Theodosius, Eugenius, and Arcadius.

A remarkable hoard, described as having been found in an urn of red Samian ware at Holwel, near Taunton, was brought under the notice of this Society on Dec. 28, 1843, by the late Rev. Henry Christmas. It comprised silver coins from the time of Constantius II. to that of Honoriusr; and consisted of 285 coins of the ordinary module

³ *Num. Chron.*, N.S. vol. vii. pp. 62 and 331.

⁴ *Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Proc.*, 1878, N.S. vol. iv. p. 18.

⁵ *Arch. Jour.*, vol. ii. p. 209.

⁶ *Arch. Jour.*, vol. iv. p. 145.

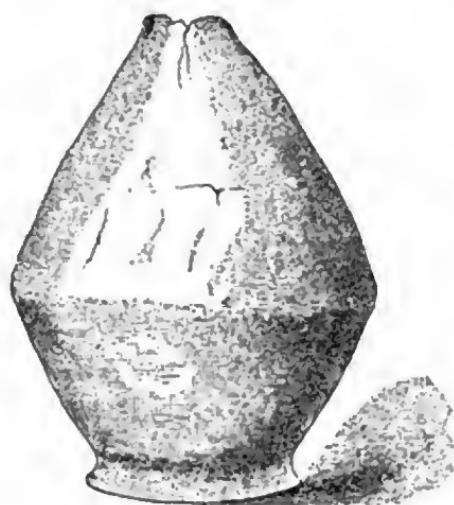
and 33 so-called medallions. These latter were of Constanus, Julianus II., Valentinianus I., Valens, Gratianus, Valentinianus II., Magnus Maximus, Theodosius I., and Eugenius. Holway and Holwel seem to be two names of the same place, for Dr. Hurly Pring, of Taunton, informs me that no such place as Holwel exists, and that Mr. Christmas must have fallen into an error in thus describing Holway.

The important and extensive hoard of silver coins which I am now about to describe belongs to a somewhat earlier period. My attention was kindly called to it by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, and the owner of the hoard, Mr. W. W. Kettlewell, of Harptree Court, East Harptree, near Bristol, on whose property it was found, has most liberally placed it in my hands for examination and description.

The hoard was brought to light in the following manner. During the late dry summer the water supply to the village of East Harptree had run very low, and it was desirable to make search for some additional spring on the Mendips that could be conducted into the main pipes and supplement the supply. A swampy and boggy piece of ground, which is always wet, seemed to promise what was required. The spot is about a mile to the S.W. of the village of East Harptree, just to the west of the Francees Plantation, close to where the word "*spring*" occurs on the six-inch Ordnance Map. A man named William Currell was engaged in the search for water, and his spade struck upon a pewter or white metal vessel, not more than five or six inches below the surface, which had already been broken into several pieces. It was, however, dug out from the ground, and was found to contain no less than 1,496

⁷ *Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Proc.*, 1881, N.S. vol. vii. p. 55.

silver coins, some cast silver ingots that had been cut into strips, and a silver ring set with an intaglio. The vessel has, so far as possible, been restored to its original form by Mr. Talbot Ready, and the annexed woodcut will give some idea of its character. It may be described as bottle-shaped. In height it is about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and 7 inches in greatest diameter, the base being 4 inches across. Since the woodcut was made, the neck of the vessel, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, has been found by Mrs. Kettlewell. It is about

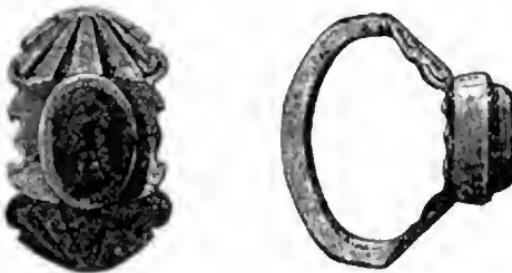


$1\frac{1}{2}$ inches inside diameter, and shows traces of there having been a handle to the vessel. I have been unable to discover any traces of writing or marks of ownership upon it. The material of which the vase is formed is doubtless for the most part lead from some of the neighbouring mines. I have not ascertained what admixture of tin it contains. The use of lead in Roman times must have been very extensive. A good instance is afforded by the lining of the large bath at Bath, which was of lead, about

half an inch in thickness. It was recently stripped from its position under the direction of the Corporation of Bath, and sold as old metal for the sum of £70.

The silver ring, of which also a woodcut is given, is of a not uncommon character, with the gem—a carnelian—projecting a considerable distance beyond the socket in which it is mounted. It presents the flattened oval opening for the finger so common in Roman rings. The gem has a figure of Mars bearing a trophy and spear engraved in intaglio upon it.

Its general character and style of ornamentation is shown in the annexed cut, and no further comment seems necessary.



The pieces of cast silver are five in number, not counting a small fragment, which has probably been broken off from one of them. One is a small lenticular cake about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, which seems to have been run into a depression in clay or sand. It has an indentation from a chisel on its upper surface. Its weight is 516 grains.

Two of the other pieces are portions of another and larger flat cake of silver about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, which has been cut into three by means of two parallel cuts with a chisel. Only the middle strip, which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide, was present, and one of the outside segments. These weigh 248 and 806 grains respectively.

The two other pieces are segments of cakes of the same character ; one of them, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 1 inch broad in the middle, weighs 818 grains ; the other, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in extreme breadth, weighs 644 grains. This latter has had a small triangular piece chopped off from one end. The occurrence of such lumps of unwrought silver is more frequent in the hoards of Saxon times than in those of Roman date. The melting and casting of the silver must have been effected by some comparatively skilled hand, and the metal may have come into the possession of the owner of the hoard in the course of business. It no doubt represented some money value, but the pieces do not seem to have been adjusted to any regularly graduated weight. In the somewhat later hoard of Roman coins discovered at Coleraine,^{*} in Ireland, in 1854, a considerable amount of silver plate, including some ingots, was present, weighing in all over 200 ounces.

The coins when found were to some extent coated with dirt, and with what was probably a little chlorido of silver. When carefully washed and brushed their remarkably good preservation became apparent, and there were none but what could with certainty be attributed to the emperor under whom they were struck, and thereto was only a small percentage of which the place of mintage could not be determined.

The following is a summary list of the emperors represented in the hoard, and of the number of pieces struck under each. It includes twenty coins which had been dispersed when the hoard was first brought under my notice, making the total number 1,496.

* See *Num. Chron.*, vol. xvii. p. 101.

Constantine the Great	1
Constans	4
Constantius II.	340
Decentius	1
Julianus II.	718
Jovianus	8
Valentinianus I.	165
Valens	199
Gratianus	60
	<u>1,496</u>

A detailed list, showing the number of the coins of each type and the places of their mintage, is appended. The mints were situated in eleven different places, and in some of these there seems to have been several different establishments or *officinae*. These are sometimes designated by the letters P. S. T., &c., for Prima, Secunda, Tertia, &c., or by the letters on the field OF. I., OF. II., OF. III. The letters S. M., by which the initials of the town are sometimes preceded, have been thought to stand for Signata Moneta, and the letters P. S. following the designation of the town for Pecunia Signata. The coins in the Harptree hoard were issued from the following mints:—

Antioch. ANT	22
Aquileia. SMAQ	1
Arles (Constantina). CONST	27
P.CON—P.CONST	166
S.CON—S.CONST	183
T.CON—T.CONST	177
	— 558
Constantinople. CΩ, CB, CΔ, CZ	4
Lyons. LVG	818
P.LVG, &c.	114
S.LVG, &c.	142
	— 574
Nicomedia. SMN	4
Carried forward	<u>1158</u>

	Brought forward	1158
Rome. R.P., R.B., R.T., R.Q., &c.	. . . .	99
Sirmium. SIRM	. . . .	6
Siscia. SIS	. . . .	1
Thessalonica. TSE. TES	. . . .	12
Trèves. TR., TRPS.	. . . .	207
Uncertain . . . .	. . . .	13
		—
		1,496

It will be at once seen that though the issues from the Gallic mints largely predominate, yet that not a few coins struck in towns far distant from Britain are present in the hoard. Antioch was the city from which some of the coins of Constantius II., Julianus, Jovianus, Valentinianus I., and Valens were issued. Nicomedia produced coins of Constantius II., Jovianus, and Valens. Thessalonica is represented by coins of Constantine the Great, Constantius II., Valentinianus I., and Valens. The name of Sirmium appears on coins of Constantius II. and Valentinianus I., and those of Siscia and Aquileia on single coins of the latter emperor. Constantinople appears in addition on a coin of Gratianus. Rome was the mint place of pieces of Constans, Valentinianus I., and Valens, especially of those of the second named. More than three-quarters of the whole hoard were struck in the two mints of Arles and Lyons, and nearly a seventh in that of Trèves. The division of the mint at Lyons into two *officinae* must, to judge from the coins, have taken place in the reign of Julianus. At Arles the subdivision of the mint appears to have already existed in the time of Constantius II.

The attribution of the coins bearing the exergual mint-mark CONST. to the town of Constantina in Gaul instead of to Constantinople was first made by the late Mr. Borrill, of Smyrna. It was suggested to him by a coin of

Fausta bearing that mark, which could not have designated Constantinoplo, as Fausta died before Byzantium was refounded under its new name.⁹ The town of Arelate, or Arles, was also one of those to which Constantine gave an almost new existence, for on the opposite side of the Rhone he built a new and important town, to which he gave the name of Constantina,¹⁰ a name which, at all events for a time, overshadowed and, indeed, superseded the old name of Arelate. In the days of Honorius, however, when Arles became the residence of the Praefect of Gallia, under whom also the government of Britain was placed, it resumed its old name. Ausonius, who was tutor to Gratianus as a boy, has commemorated the place among his *Claræ Urbes*.

*"Pando, duplex Arelate, tuos blanda hospita portus,
Gallula Roma Arelas ; quam Narbo Martius, et quam
Accolit Alpinis opulenta Vienna colonis :
Praecipitis Rhodani sic intercisa fluentis,
Ut mediam facias navali ponte plateam.
Per quem Romani commercia suscipis orbis,
Nec cohibus."*

I have sought in vain in the modern suburb of Arles, Trinquetaille, for any traces of the ancient Constantina.

Another Constantina which has retained its name until the present day was originally the town of Cirta, in Numidia. At first a Phœnician city or Kiriath, it next became the Roman Colonia Julia, then the Colonia Sittianorum and then Constantina, the name it still retains as one of the chief towns in French Algeria. I do not think,

⁹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S. vol. i. p. 121.

¹⁰ Scaliger has suggested that the new town was built by Constantino III., who fixed his capital at Arles; but in this he must have been in error.—Note to Ausonius, *Claræ Urbes*, viii.

however, that there was ever a Roman mint in that place.

The fabric of the coins bearing the mint mark CONST. is so similar to that of those bearing the mark of Lugudunum or Lyons that we may with some confidence regard the letters as designating the Gallic Constantina. The few coins in this hoard assigned to the mint of Constantinople are of a different style and bear a C only accompanied by a Greek letter to denote the officina, and a star, wreath or other symbol.

The coins struck at Trèves are proportionally far fewer in number than is usual in the hoards of coins buried in the days of Constantine the Great and his sons, whose residence was frequently in that city. The retreat southward of the more important centres of Roman power and commerce had already begun in the days of Gratianus, though Treveri was still the fourth of the *Clarae Urbes*, whence,

"Lata per extentum procurrunt mœnia collem,"
and where

"Largus tranquillo praelabitur amne Mosella,
Longinqua omnigenus vectans commercia terræ." ¹¹

To return, however, to the coins in the hoard. Among them are pieces of at least three different modules. By far the greater number are of small size and varying in average weight from about 31 to about 33 grains. These would appear to have been struck at the nominal rate of 144 to the Roman pound of about 5,053 grains troy. This would make the proper weight of each to be about 35 grains.

¹¹ Auson., *Clara Urbes*, iv.

The coins of somewhat larger module and weight belong to a rather earlier period and were probably struck on the standard of 96 to the pound, which though dating from the time of Nero, had been re-established under Diocletian.¹² Such pieces if of full weight would weigh about $52\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy. The coins of Constantine the Great, Constans, Constantius II., and that of Julianus with the star on the reverse (Pl. II., 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10), range from $40\frac{2}{3}$ grains to $54\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the average of the eight coins being 49 grains.

The largest pieces, which are usually termed medallions, seem to have been intended to represent double the value of the ordinary small pieces, and to have been coined at the rate of 72 to the pound. Of these there were 15 present in the hoard, ranging in weight from 59 to $70\frac{1}{2}$ grains; the average weight being $66\frac{1}{4}$ grains, as against 70 grains, the calculated weight at the rate of 72 to the pound. These pieces were at a later period known as the Miliarense.

It is remarkable that in several of the west country hoards a large proportion of these medallions has been present. In that of Holway already mentioned, there were 33 medallions to 285 of the small coins or siliqua. As a general rule they are in a high state of preservation, and it seems likely that they were more treasured by those into whose possession they came than the ordinary current coins. Those in the Harptree hoard were for the most part coined in distant mints; one at Antioch, five at Thessalonica, three at Rome, two at Arles, and four at Trèves. In the Holway hoard the mints of Siscia,

¹² See Mommsen, *Hist. de la Monn. Rom.*, Trad., De Blacas, vol. iii. p. 75.

Sirmium, Lyons, Aquileia and Milan were also represented.

Full particulars of the types and legends of the 1,496 pieces forming the Harptree hoard are given in the following list, but it will be well to call attention to some of the more remarkable coins.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. A.D. 306—337.

But a single coin of this emperor (Pl. II., 1) was found. It is in fine condition and of considerable rarity. It was struck at Thessalonica, but in what year it is difficult to say, though it must belong to the close of his reign, as coins of a similar character exist with the head of Constans as Caesar, a title which was not conferred upon him until A.D. 333.

CONSTANS. A.D. 337—350.

The four coins are of the ordinary module, but are all rare. Two are engraved in Pl. II., 2 and 3. The date of the particular issues of his coins it is almost impossible to fix, as the Decennalia Vota, which at first were celebrated at intervals of ten years, had by his time been made to recur far more frequently. Though he actually reigned less than thirteen years, or seventeen if the period during which he was Caesar is included, yet coins of his are extant with VOT. XX MVLT. XXX, as if the first twenty years of his reign had been completed, and prayers had been offered for its continuance during another period of ten years. The legend of Felix Temporum Reparatio first came in on the coinage of Constans, and became of extremely common occurrence on the coins of his successors.

CONSTANTIUS II. A.D. 337—361.

He was the elder brother of Constans, with whom he reigned jointly until 350, when by his death he became sole emperor. Of his coins, 332 were present in this hoard, of which 4 have been selected for engraving (Pl. II., 4—7). That with the reverse PAX AVGVSTORVM is rare, and probably belongs to the early part of his reign. The medallions with the legends TRIVMFATOR GEN-TIVM BARBARARVM and VIRTVS EXERCITVS are also scarce. As the former legend occurs on the medallions of Constans, the piece was probably struck before A.D. 350. The legend VIRTVS EXERCITVM occurs also on coins of Constans, but was unknown to Cohen among the coins of Constantius. The form is probably a genitive plural of Exercitus. The fabric of the medallion differs materially from that of the others of the same emperor struck in more southern and eastern mints than Arles. The coin (Pl. II., 7) with SPES REIPVBLICE is rare; that cited by Cohen is in the Museum of Vienna. The coin No. 8 with the reverse VOT XXXX is also scarce. The coin reading CONSTIVS offers a singular example of an error in sinking the die. This coin is in perfect preservation and is of the largo module. His other coins require no comment. They belong for the most part to the latter part of the reign of Constantius.

DECENTIUS. A.D. 351—353.

Of this prince, who was the brother of Magnentius, who held Gaul for three years against Constans and Constantius II., but one piece, and that a medallion, was present in the hoard. It is of great rarity and is remarkable for

reading PRINCITI instead of PRINCIPI. A similar piece is in the French national collection.

JULIANUS II. A.D. 355—363.

Nearly one half of the coins in the hoard are of Julian, either as Cæsar or Emperor, there being no less than 712 pieces bearing his name. Among these are a medallion as Emperor, and a coin of the old standard of 96 to the pound, both of which are figured in the Plate (Figs. 9 and 10). Both are scarce. Of the coins of the ordinary module, No. 8 and 16 offer varieties not mentioned by Cohen. As Julian reigned but eight years it is somewhat remarkable to find VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX on his coins. Possibly the reverse die may have been intended for Constantius II. His other coins range over the whole of his reign from the time when he was first made Cæsar, and his portraits vary from that of a boy to that of a full-bearded man. The form in which his titles appear varies considerably, the D.N. for Dominus Noster being sometimes prefixed and sometimes left out, and the letters after his name sometimes P.P. AVG, sometimes P.F. AVG, and sometimes simply AVG. The letters P.P. which indicate the title Pius Perpetuus, or possibly Perpetuus only, seem to be confined to the coinage of the Lyons mint.

JOVIANUS. A.D. 363—364.

Of Julian's successor eight coins were present, one of which, the medallion Pl. II., Fig. 11, is of considerable rarity. In the title after the name it seems to read PEP or PPP rather than P.F.P. as given by Cohen from the Catalogue d'Ennery. An example in my own cabinet, also struck at Antioch, seems to read PPP likewise, which

may probably be extended as Pius Perpetuus. Though Jovianus held the empire for seven months only his coins commemorate both the Vota Quinquennalia and the Vota Decennalia, as if his reign had extended over at least ten years. The coin with VOT. X MVLT. XX is very rare and is cited by Cohen from the Vienna Museum.

VALENTINIANUS I. A.D. 364—375.

The coins of Valentinian the Elder are 164 in number, including three medallions of two types, both rather rare. The rarest of his smaller coins is No. 4 with the legend RESTITVTOR REIPVBLCIAE in full, a legend which first came into use on the coins of this Emperor.

VALENS. A.D. 364—378.

Of Valentinian's brother and associate in the Empire there were 196 coins in the hoard, including one medallion minted at Trèves with the usual reverse of VIRTVS EXERCITVS. The coins with RESTITVTOR REIP. belong to the earlier part of his reign and are scarcer than those with VRBS ROMA, which were probably struck after Valentinian's death, for the majority of the coins of the latter type were coined at Trèves, which was not strictly speaking originally within the dominion of Valens as Emperor of the East.

GRATIANUS. A.D. 375—383.

Of Gratian, the elder son of Valentinian I., there are 58 coins in the deposit, mostly of the common type of VRBS ROMA, which, like those of Valens recently mentioned, were struck in the mint of Trèves, and probably belong

to the same period. The only other coin of Gratian present in the hoard gives a type not known to Cohen, VOTIS V.

We must now briefly consider what was the probable date at which the Harptree hoard was deposited, and in so doing we must take into account not only the coins that are present in the deposit, but also some of those which were absent from it. Now of Valentinian II., who at the age of four years was associated in the empire by his half-brother Gratian and his uncle Valens in November, 375, a short time after the death of his father, Valentinian I., no coins are present. Those of Gratian are limited to two types, both in all probability belonging to quite the early part of his reign. There is, however, some little difficulty in determining the date at which current coins were first struck bearing the image and superscription of Gratian, inasmuch as his father had conferred upon him the title of Augustus so early as A.D. 367. He was, however, only sixteen years old at the time of Valentinian's death, in A.D. 375. If we are right in supposing that the VRBS ROMA type was not in use at Trèves until towards the close of the reign of Valentinian, and that the coins of Valens with the same reverse were issued from that mint, in immediate succession to those of Valentinian, we may, I think, conclude that those of Gratian were struck and issued synchronously with those of Valens, and that no coins of Gratian were struck in his father's lifetime. The reverse of VOTIS V., judging from the analogy of the coins of Jovianus, might have been struck immediately after his virtual accession in A.D. 375, or it may even bear reference to his nominal accession in A.D. 367. At how early a period coins were struck in the name of Valentinian II., to whom was assigned tho

empire of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, is not absolutely certain, but probably his coinage commenced with his reign, as some of the portraits upon it are extremely young. At all events, from the absence of his coins in this hoard, and the paucity of types of those of Gratian, I think that we cannot far err in assigning the deposit of this hoard to a date not much removed from A.D. 376. Who was its owner and what were the circumstances under which he buried his treasure, are questions which I will not waste time in discussing.

I have only to add that a selection of twenty-five of the coins has most liberally been presented to the National Collection by Mr. Kettlewell. These are indicated in the following list by the letters B. M. in brackets being appended to their description.

JOHN EVANS.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

1. *Obr.*—Diademed head of Constantine r.

Rev.—CONSTANTINVS AVG. Victory l., with wreath and palm. In exergue, TSE. (Cohen, No. 42.) (Pl. II. 1.) 48½ gr.
[B. M.]

1

CONSTANS.

1. *Obr.*—FL. IVL. CONSTANS P.F. AVG. Diadem and draped bust r.

Rev.—VICTORIA DD. NN. AVGG. Victory l., with wreath and palm. In exergue, TR. (Cohen, No. 78.) (Pl. II. 2.) 41, 54½, 40½ grs.

3

Carried forward	. . .	—	—	1
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8



COINS FROM THE HARPTREE HOARD.



	Brought forward . . .	3	1
2. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 1.			
<i>Rev.</i> —FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. Victory inscribing VOT. XX. on a shield held up by a kneeling captive. In exergue, R. (Cohen, No. 35.) (Pl. II. 3.)	48½ grs.	1	
		—	4

CONSTANTIUS II.

1. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL. CONSTANTIVS P.F. AVG. Diademed and draped bust r.			
<i>Rev.</i> —PAX AVGVSTORVM. Emperor l., holding labarum. In exergue, TR. R. I. (Cohen, No. 93.) (Pl. II. 4.)	49 grs. . . .	1	
2. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 1.			
<i>Rev.</i> —TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARA- RVM. Constantius l., holding standard and resting left hand on shield. In exergue, TES. (Cohen, No. 40.) Med. (Pl. II. 5.)	68½ grs. . . .	1	
3. <i>Obv.</i> —D. N. CONSTANTIVS P.F. AVG. Bust as before.			
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Soldier r., holding spear and shield. In exergue, TES. and R? C·Z. Med. (Cohen, No. 52.)	70½, 67½, 59, 69, 70½ grs. . . .	5	
4. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 3.			
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS EXERCITVM. As No. 3. In exergue, P. CON. Med. (Pl. II. 6.) [B. M.] 66 grs. . . .	1		
5. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVL. CONSTIVS P.F. AVG. Bust as before.			
<i>Rev.</i> —VICTORIA. DD. NN. AVGG. Victory l., holding wreath and palm. In exergue, TR. 55½ grs. . . .	1		
6. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 3.			
<i>Rev.</i> —SPES REIPVBLICE (<i>sic</i>) Constantius			

Carried forward . . .

14

	Brought forward	14
	helmeted, holding globe and hasta. In exergue, TES. [B. M.] (Cohen, No. 105.) (Pl. II. 7.) 28 grs.	1
7. <i>Obr.</i> —As No. 3.		
	<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 5. In exergue, LVG	49
8. <i>Obr.</i> —As No. 3.		
	<i>Rev.</i> —VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX in wreath.	
	In exergue, ANT	2
	,, SMN	1
	,, SIRM	2
	,, P.CON	78
	,, S.CON	78
	,, LVG. (Cohen, 150—152). 114	
	Uncertain mints	5
		— 280

9. *Obr.*—As No. 3.

<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. XXXX in wreath. In exergue C D ? (Cohen, No. 158.) [B. M.]	1
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DECENTIUS.

1. <i>Obr.</i> —D.N. DECENTIVS NOB. CAES. Bare bust r., with cuirass.	
<i>Rev.</i> —PRINCITI (sic) IVVENTVTIS. Decentius holding globe and slanting spear. In exergue, TR. Med. (Cohen, No. 8.) (Pl. II. 8.) [B. M.] 60½ grs.	1

JULIANUS II.

1. <i>Obr.</i> —D.N. FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.F. AVG. Diademed and draped bust r.	
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Julian r. holding spear in r., in l. a shield and an eagle with wreath in its beak. Med. In exergue, S. CONST. (Cohen, No. 5.) (Pl. II. 9.) 67½ grs.	1
Carried forward	347

	Brought forward . . .	847
2. <i>Obr.</i> —FL. CL. IVLIANVS NOB. C. Youthful bare bust draped r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —Uninscribed. A star of eight points in centre of a wreath. In exergue, T.CON. AR. I. (Cohen, No. 46.) (Pl. II. 10.) [B.M.] 47½ grs.	1	
3. <i>Obr.</i> —FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.P. AVG. Diadem and draped bust r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VICTORIA DD. NN. AVG. Victory l., holding wreath and palm. In exergue, LVG. (Cohen, Supplement No. 2)	26	
4. <i>Obr.</i> —D.N. IVLIANVS NOB. CAES. Draped bust r., the head bare.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOTIS V MVLTIS X. in wreath. In exergue, T CON. (Cohen, No. 80)	61	
5. <i>Obr.</i> —D.N. CL. IVLIANVS AVG Diademed and draped bust l.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 4. In exergue, P. CON	2	
,, S. CON	8	
,, T. CON	16	
,, TR [B. M.]	16	
,, TR ~	86	
(Cohen, No. 83.)	—	78
6. <i>Obr.</i> —D.N. IVLIANVS P.F. AVG. As No. 5.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 4. In exergue, P. CON	24	
,, S. CON	26	
,, T. CON	89	
Uncertain mint	1	
(Cohen, No. 55.)	—	90
7. <i>Obr.</i> —FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.P. AVG. As No. 5.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 4. In exergue, LVG	125	
,, P. LVG	28	
,, S. LVG	36	
Uncertain mints	2	
(Cohen, No. 87.)	—	191
Carried forward	789	

	Brought forward	789
8. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 7.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. V MVLT. X. in wreath. In exergue, P. LVG. (Not in Cohen.) [B. M.]	1	
9. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. IVLIANVS P.P. AV. As No. 7.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 8. In exergue—? Contemporary forgery?	1	
10. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.F. AVG. Bearded, diademed, and draped bust.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. X MVLT. XX. in wreath. In exergue, ANT. (Cohen, No. 41.)	7	
11. <i>Obv.</i> —D.N. FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.F. AVG. Beardless, diademed, and draped bust r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. X MVLT. XX. in wreath.		
In exergue, P. LVG	11	
,, S. LVG. (Cohen, No. 42, var.)	14	
	—	25
12. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 11, but bust bearded.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 11. In exergue, P. CONST	1	
,, S. CONST	10	
,, T. CONST. . . .	5	
	—	16
13. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 11.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 11, but small eagle in centro of wreath. In exergue, P.CONST	58	
,, S. CONST	68	
,, T.CONST	52	
Uncertain, but CONST	11	
	—	179
14. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.F. AVG. As No. 11.		
<i>Rev.</i> —As No. 13. In exergue, P.CONST. (Cohen, No. 41, var.) [B. M.]	1	
15. <i>Obv.</i> —FL. CL. IVLIANVS P.P. AVG. Beardless, diademed, and draped bust.		
Carried forward	1,019	

	Brought forward . . .	1,019
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. X MVLT. XX. in wreath.		
In exergue, LVG [1 B.M.] . . .	4	
,, P.LVG [1 B.M.] . . .	19	
,, S.LVG. (Cohen, No. 40) . . .	21	
	—	44
16. <i>Obv.</i> —D.N. CL. IVLIANVS AVG. Beardless, diademed, and draped bust r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX in wreath.		
In exergue, S. CON. (Not in Cohen). [B. M.]	1	
JOVIANUS.		
1. <i>Obv.</i> —D.N. IOVIANVS PPP AVG. Diademed and draped bust r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —GLORIA ROMANORVM. Jovian holding spear and globe, standing within an arch. In exergue, ANT. Med. (Cohen, No. 2.) (Pl. II. 11.) 64½ grs. . . .	1	
2. <i>Obv.</i> —D.N. IOVIANVS. P.F. AVF. As No. 1.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. V MVLT. X within a wreath.		
In exergue, P. CONST	4	
,, SMN	1	
	—	5
5. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 2.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. X MVLT. XX in wreath. In ex- ergue, T. CONST. (Cohen, No. 14) . .	2	
VALENTINIANUS I.		
1. <i>Obv.</i> —D.N. VALENTINIANVS P.F. AVG. Dia- demmed and draped bust r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Emperor l. hold- ing labarum and resting left hand on shield. In exergue, S.M.TR. Med. (Cohen, No. 11), 68 grs. . . .	1	
Carried forward	1,073	

	Brought forward . . .	1,203
7. <i>Obr.</i> —As No. 1.		

Rev.—VOTIS V MVLTIS X. in wreath.

In exergue, TR [B.M.]	1
" SIRM [1 B.M.]	4
(Cohen, No. 45.)		

8. <i>Obr.</i> —As No. 1.		
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Rev.—VRBS ROMA. Rome seated, holding
Victory and sceptre.

In exergue, R P.	17
" R Q.	3
" R T.	2
" TRPS.	7
(Cohen, No. 48.)	— 29

VALENS.

1. <i>Obr.</i> —D. N. VALENS P.F. AVG. Diademed and draped bust r.		
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Rev.—VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Emperor holding
standard and shield. In exerguo,
TRPS. (Cohen, No. 17.) (Pl. II. 18.)
Med. 67½ and 69 grs.

2

2. <i>Obr.</i> —As No. 1.		
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Rev.—RESTITVTOR REIP. Emperor holding
labarum and globe surmounted by a
Victory.

In exergue, P. LVG	24
" P. LVG	25
" S. LVG	8
" ANT [B. M.]	1
" TES	1
" P. CONST	1
" S. CONST, * in field	1
" CONST, OF I " "	1
" CONST, OF I * [1 B. M.]	3
" CONST, OF III"	1
(Cohen, No. 29.)	— 66

Carried forward	—	1,305
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	Brought forward . . .	1,805
3. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 1.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOT. V MVLTIS. X. in wreath. In ex- ergue, SMN.	2	
VOT. V MVLT. X. In exergue, R B . .	19	
Ditto " R T . .	6	
(Cohen, No. 55.) NY —	27	
4. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 1.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VRBS ROMA. Rome seated, holding Victory and sceptre.		
In exergue, P. LVG	1	
" R P	4	
" R Q	20	
" TRPS	18	
" TRPS	66	
	—	104

GRATIANUS.

1. <i>Olv.</i> —D.N. GRATIANVS P.F. AVG. Dia- demmed and draped bust r.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VOTIS V. in wreath. In exergue, *C·B Q. (Not in Cohen.) (Pl. II. 14.) [B. M.]		
31½ grs.	1	
2. <i>Obv.</i> —As No. 1.		
<i>Rev.</i> —VRBS ROMA. Rome seated holding sceptre and Victory. In exergue, TRPS. 31 grs.	59	
	—	
		1,496

III.

COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIAN KING MIAÜS, OR HERAÜS.

IN 1874 Mr. Percy Gardner published a tetradrachm similar to those represented in the accompanying Plate. He attributed the piece to Heraüs, King of the Sakas, by reading the legend¹

ΤΥΙΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΜΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΚΑΒ ΚΟΙΑΝΟΥ.
as *Τυραννοῦντος Ἡράου Σάκα Κοιράνου*.

This assignment of the coin to a *Saka* king was eagerly adopted by Mr. Fergusson, who, by a bold conjecture, metamorphosed the *Turushka* king Kanishka, the sovereign of the *Kushāns*, into a king of the *Sakas*, and the founder of the *Sāka* era.²

But Mr. Fergusson was not the only rebel against “timo-honoured” *Sālivāhana*, whose name, as Professor Kern boldly suggested,³ had been added to the *Sāka* era by the English. But this suggestion is utterly without foundation, as there are many inscriptions, both in Southern and in Northern India, dated in the *Sālivāhana Sāka* era. I need only quote one of S. S. 1466, or A.D. 1544, from

¹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., xii. p. 161.

² *Royal Asiatic Society Journal*, 1880, “On the *Sāka*, *Samvat*, and *Gupta* Eras.”

³ Dr. Max Müller, *India—What can it teach us?* p. 300.

Bādāmi in Southern India, and another of S. S. 1583, or A.D. 1561, from Chamba, in the Punjab.⁴ Does Professor Kern believe that the English ruled over India in those years?

In 1881 Dr. Oldenberg published a notice of the same coin,⁵ in which he retained the reading of ΣΑΚΑ, and ignored the existence of the following letter Β, while he objected to Κοιράνον, and proposed to read either *Koranou* or *Korranou*. He thus found "a decisive proof" that the *Korano* or *Gushān* princes, and more especially "Kanishka, must be regarded as *Sakas*." He then goes on to say that "we know from coins as well as from inscriptions of a mighty *Saka* king Kanishka." With this statement I altogether disagree. I am well acquainted with all the inscriptions and coins of the Indo-Scythian princes, and I can state positively that neither coins nor inscriptions give the title of *Saka* to Kanishka. In the inscriptions he is always called by his own tribal title of *Kushān*, or *Gushān*, and on his coins he is invariably called *Korano*.

I presume, however, that Dr. Oldenberg refers to this coin of Heraüs as establishing his conclusion that Kanishka was a king of the *Sakas*, or *Saka-Kushāns*. But the reading of ΣΑΚΑ I dispute, as all my coins read ΣΑΝΑΒ and not ΣΑΚΑ. This word is, however, not always spelt in the same way. I find ΣΑΝΑΒ on six coins, the Ν being sometimes reversed, ΣΑΝΑΟΒ on one coin, and ΣΑΝΑΒΙΥ on one coin.

It is true that the Ν is sometimes reversed, but so it is sometimes both in ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΙΤΟΣ and in ΚΟΙΑ-

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, x. p. 67. *Archæol. Survey of India*, xxi. p. 186.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, x. p. 215.

MOY. Of the latter form Mr. Gardner has given an instance in his footnote, page 47, quoting M. Tiesenhausen's coin.

Taking the various readings of *Sanab*, *Sanaob*, and *Sanabiu*, I think it probable that the term may be intended to represent the native title of *tsanyu*, or *chanyu*, "chief," or "king." As the last word on the small silver oboli is **KOPEANOY**, there can be no doubt that the king belonged to the *Korsán*, or *Kushan* tribe. *Tsanyu* is a contraction of *Tsemli-Khuthu-tanju*, "Heaven's son great," or "Great Son of Heaven," = *Devaputra*. As the common pronunciation of the Greek Β was **V**, the Greek form of **ΣΑΝΑΒ**, or **ΣΑΝΑΒΙΥ**, would approach very nearly to the native title.

With respect to the tribal name of *Kushán*, an examination of the earlier coins of Kujula Kadphizes shows that the first Greek forms of the name were *Korsna*, *Korsán*, and *Khoransu*, which agree with the title of **KOPEANOY** on the oboli of Miaüs in the Plate. In common speech this name might become either *Korano* by the omission of *s*, or *Kushán* by the omission of *r*. But the Greek form I prefer to derive from the common practice of changing *s* to *h*, which would change *Korsano* into *Korhano*, or into *Korrhano*, or **KOPPANOY**.

That the original form of the name was *Korsan*, or *Khorsan*, is, I think, supported by the name of the province of *Khorasán*, which was certainly occupied by this tribe. I suspect also that *Chorsari*, which Pliny says was the name given by the Scythians to the Persians, must refer to the Kusháns of *Khorasán*, who had come to be looked upon as Persians by the Scythians of the Jaxartes.

According to my view the legend of the tetradrachms is simply—

Typanōv̄tos Miaōv Σarāß Kopšávov,
 "Of the supreme king Miaüs, chief of the Kushâns."

On the oboli the legend is restricted to two lines, in which the name of the prince is spelt in two different ways, as **MIAOY_E** and **MIAIOY**. With the tribal title of **KOPLEANOY** below, the whole legend is simply "Miaüs, the Kushân," or rather the *Korsan*.

The unique copper coin is unfortunately too much worn to give any assistance in reading either the name or the titles. But as it bears an Arian legend in addition to the Greek inscription it is invaluable as a proof that the territory over which the king ruled was not Bactria, but some country to the south of the Hindu Kush. On the Greek side I can read **TYPAN** and **KOPLEAN**; but of the Arian legend I can make nothing certain.

Of the find-spots of the tetradrachms I am unable to speak. But of the *oboli* I can say positively that my twelve specimens all came from Western Afghanistan, that is from Kabul and the country to the south of Kabul. A thirteenth obolus was actually found by Masson in No. 2 Tope at Kotpur, along with ten copper coins bearing the joint names of Hermæus and Kujula Kadphizes.⁶ Masson describes the coin as "a small circular piece of silver, doubtful whether a coin from its smooth reverse, but on the obverse bearing the bust of a king, whose head was bound with the Greek diadem." I saw the piece in the Indian Museum in 1870 amongst Tope relics, and I at once recognised it as a coin of Miaüs, from the king's head being an exact representation of the head on the two tetradrachms which I then possessed. In the same Stûpa

⁶ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 66.

Masson obtained a clay seal (see *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate IV. Fig. 6 of *Antiquities*), with an armed figure standing with lance in hand. As my new coins of Kujula Kadphizes present the same armed figure we thus obtain a second connection with Kujula.

With respect to the date of Miaüs I think that the following facts all point to the latter half of the first century B.C.

1. One of his coins was found in company with ten copper coins bearing the joint names of Hermæus and Kujula.

2. The Greek Σ is used always in *Turannountos* and *Sanab*, but in Korsano it takes the round form, which is also found on some of the later coins of Hermæus.

3. The type of the king on horseback, with Victory flying behind to place a wreath on his head, is the prototype which was afterwards copied on the coins of Gondophares.

Taking these facts in conjunction with the find-spots of the coins, I infer that Miaüs must have ruled over the country to the south-west of Kabul, about Wardak and Ghazni, some time during the latter half of the first century B.C.

If my inference be correct we may, perhaps, gain some further information about this unknown king from the Chinese records. Turning, then, to their account of *Kipin*, that is of the country to the south-west of Kabul, I find the following facts recorded.

1. The first King of Kipin known to the Chinese is named *U-theu-lao* by Remusat⁷ (or *Woo-tow-laou* by Wylio). He was reigning about the beginning of the

⁷ Remusat, *Nour. Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. p. 207.

first century B.C. He was succeeded by his son, who was defeated and killed by a rebel named *Yin-mo-fu*, son of the King of *Yung-Khiu*, assisted by the Chinese. *Yin-mo-fu* thus became King of Kipin. Having imprisoned the Chinese general Chao-to and killed some seventy of his officers, he sent an embassy to China to excuse his conduct. But the Emperor Hiao-yuan-ti had then stopped all communication with foreign countries, and the embassy was not received. As this emperor began to reign in 48 B.C., the conquest of Kipin by *Yin-mo-fu* may be placed about 50 B.C.⁸

2. The people of Kipin had gold and silver money which bore on one side the figure of a horseman, and on the reverse the head of a man. Wylie says a man on horseback and a man's face.⁹ Now it is remarkable that the only coins which tally with this description are those of *Miaüs* and of the nameless king. But as there are neither gold nor silver coins of the latter the description can apply only to the former. This being the case, the coins with a horseman on one side and a king's head on the other should belong to *Yin-mo-fu*, the conqueror of Kipin, and *Yin-mo-fu* should therefore be *Miaüs*, or *Miaios*. There is a tempting resemblance between the two names, which, supported by both time and place, suggests the possibility of identifying *Yin-mo-fu*, King of Kipin, with *Miaüs*, or *Miaius*, whose coins belong to the same country as well as the same age.

With respect to the name of the king, I must confess that it is still uncertain. Twenty-five years ago, when I got my first two tetradrachms, I read the name as **HPAOY**,

⁸ Remusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. p. 206.

⁹ *Num. Chon.*, N.S., ix. p. 79.



MIAÜS OR HERAÜS CHIEF OF THE KUSHANS.

or Heraüs, as I noted at the time in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. In 1874, after Mr. Percy Gardner had published the British Museum coin, on which he also read the name as Heraüs, I was induced to examine the silver oboli of the same king which I had lately acquired. On some of them I found a sloping stroke in the first letter of the name, which seemed to agree with the first letter on the two tetradrachms, Nos. 3 and 4 of the accompanying Plate. I then read the names as NIAOYC, or MIAOYC, and also on some of the oboli as NIAIOY, or MIAIOYC. On looking over the recorded names of Indo-Scythian kings, it struck me that the Greek name might possibly be a variant form of the Chinese name of *Xin-mo-fu*. Except for this possibility I cannot say that my present reading of Miaüs is preferable to my early reading of Heraüs. For the solution of the doubt we must await the discovery of a second specimen of the bilingual copper coinage, as the native rendering of the two names in Arian characters would be very different. Heraüs would most probably be ΡΑΙΣ, *Herayasa*, while Miaüs would be ΡΑΙΣ, *Miayasa*.

But whether the name of the king be Heraüs or Miaüs, it is certain that he belonged to the KOPEANO, or *Kushān* tribe, and consequently that he could not have been a Saka. I will now try to make this clear. For many centuries before the arrival of the Yuechi hordo in Bactriana, the provinces on the Jaxartes and Oxus had been occupied by the Sakas, or Sacæ, where they successively opposed the armies of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander. Their language, as shown by their names as well as by the Scythian version of the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius, has little in common with that of the Kushāns who formed one of the five tribes of the Yuechi—a great

Turkish horde. Darius records the suppression of the rebel Sarukha, a leader of the Sakas. Herodotus describes the Scythians in the army of Xerxes as Amurgian Scyths who carried the battle-axe called *Sagaris*. They were therefore the same people whom Darius calls *Saka-Hummaraga*. There can be little doubt therefore that they were the same as the *Sagaruakæ*, who also carried the *Sagaris*, from which they must have derived their name. I have long ago identified the *Sagaruakæ* with the *Sarduchæ* of Trogus by reading A for Δ, and eliding the g. The words of Trogus are very important:¹⁰ "Scythicæ res additæ, reges Thocarorum Asiani, interitusque Sarduharum." Now the *Thocari* are the Yuechi, who were called *Tushâras*, or *Tukharas*, by the Indians, and *Tu-ho-lo* by the Chinese; and the *Asiani* must be the *Kushâns*, or *Gushâns*, whose chief conquered the other four tribes, and took the title of "King of the *Kushâns*." The *Sarduchæ* are the *Sai*, or *Sakas*, who were driven out by the *Kushâns*. Now this title of "King of the *Kushâns*" is found on all the coins of Kujula Kadphizes, the Yuechi chief who conquered Hermæus, the last of the Greek kings of India.

That the Yuechi were a different race from the Sakas is shown by their history as related by the Chinese annalists. In the beginning of the second century B.C. they were driven by the Hiungnu from their home in the province of Shensi, near the Great Wall of China. They retired to the west, and, being again defeated and their king killed by the Hiungnu, they migrated still farther to the west, and settled in the country along the Jaxartes in B.C. 163. In a short time they spread over the whole of the provinces on both banks of the Oxus, from which,

¹⁰ Justini, *Prol.*, chap. xlii.

about 130 to 126 B.C., they expelled the *Ta-Hia*, or Bactrian Greeks, and the *Sai*, or *Sakas*. One hundred years later the chief of the Kuei-shwang, or Kushān tribe, having subdued the other four tribes, united the whole horde of the Yuechi, and took the title of "King of the Kushāns," after which he conquered the Kabul Valley, where he came into contact with the Greek king Hermæus.

Now this title of "King of the Kushāns" is the same that was borne by Kanishka, who is styled in Court's Manikyāla inscription "*Samrardhaka Gushāna vansa*," or "the aggrandizer of the Kushān race." In the Sanskrit history of Kashmir he is called a *Turushka*, or Turk. Hwen Thsang calls him a *Tuholo*, or *Tukhāra*, while Biruni and other early Muhamedan writers call him a Türk, to which Biruni adds that his ancestor, the founder of the family, was Barhatigin. As Tigin is a Türk word, this statement furnishes another proof of the Türk origin of the Kushāns.

Hwen Thsang says that the language of *Folishisatangua*, or Kabul, was different from that of *Tsau-ku-ta*, or Kipin.¹¹ Again, in speaking of *Tsau-ku-ta*, or Kipin itself, he says that the writing and language were different from that of other countries.¹² But if the *Kushāns* were *Sakas*, the language of the *Kushāns* of Kabul and of the *Sakas* of Kipin (*Sakastene*) would have been the same. The *Kushāns* are, in fact, separately distinguished from the *Sakas* in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta under the well-known title of *Daicaputra Shāhi*, which was used by Kanishka and his successors in all their inscriptions.

¹¹ Beal, ii. p. 285; Julien, ii. p. 190.

¹² Beal, ii. p. 284; Julien, iii. p. 188.

In the face of all these facts I do not see how it is possible to maintain the identity of the *Sakas* and the *Kushāns*. Even if the word which I read as ΣΑΝΑ should hereafter be found to be actually ΣΑΚΑ, as read by Mr. Gardner and Dr. Oldenberg, I should object to these two distinct peoples being rolled into one tribe of *Saka-Kushāns*. My explanation would rather be that *Heraūs*, or *Miaūs*, was the king of both peoples—of the *Kushāns* by inheritance, and of the *Sakas* by conquest.

I will now describe the different coins of this king which I have given in Plate III.

TETRADRACHMS.

Obl.—Bare head of king, diademed, to right, with long hair and moustaches, surrounded by border of fillets.

Rev.—King on horseback, to right, left hand holding bridle, right hand resting on bow-case attached to saddle. Victory flying behind with wreath in outstretched hand to crown the king. Legend in corrupt Greek characters in one half-circle above, and two straight lines below.

No. 1.—ΤΥ/ANNOYNTΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΙΑΒ
... ΙΑΝΟΥ.

2.—ΤΥ/ANNOYNTΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ ΣΑΙΑΒ
ΚΟ(ΙΑΝΟΥ.

3.—ΤΥ/ANNOYNTΟΣ ΜΙΑΟΥ Σ. I. N. I. OB
ΗΝΥΔΝΟΥ.

4.—ΤΥ/ANNOTOYΟΣ ΗΑΟΥ ΣΑΙΑΒ
ΠΠΑΗΟΥ.

5.—ΤΥ/ANNOYONΣ ΟΑΟ//, ΣΑΝΑΒΙV
ΠΠΑΗΟΥ.

6.—ΤΥ/ANNOYΝ
ΥΠΙΙΑΝΟΥ. EO A BY

The British Museum specimen agrees very closely with Nos. 1 and 2, but the coin of M. Tiesenhausen, quoted by Mr. Gardner, appears to be more like No. 4. My No. 6

is an ancient forgery thickly plated. The other five coins average 226 grains, the heaviest, No. 4, being 240 grains.

OBOLL.

The small silver coins preserve very successfully the portrait of the king as shown on the tetradrachms. The weight varies from 8 to 9, 9½, 10½, and 11 grains. Mr. Thomas¹³ notices one of these oboli in the possession of General Pearse, but he seems to have looked upon it as belonging to the barbarous imitations of the oboli of Eukratides, as he describes it as "an example of an exceptionally common class of silver coins," whereas General Pearse's and Masson's specimens are the only coins that I know of in addition to my own.

Obr.—Bare head of king to right, as on the tetradrachm, in a dotted circle.

Rev.—Male figure, standing to right, with both hands raised. Greek legend in two perpendicular lines.

No. 7.—	ΣΙΑΙΟΥ.	ΚΟΡCANOY.
8.—	ΗΙΑΙΟΥ.	ΚΟΡCANou.
9.—	ΩΙΑΙΟΥ.	ΚΟΓCANOY.
10.—	ΝΙΑΟΥΕ.	. ΟΙΙΑyou.
11.—	ΜΙΑΟΥ	ΚΟΓCANOY.
12.—	ΩΙΑΟΥΕ	. OPCΑ.

COPPER CHALKOUS.

13. *Obr.*—King's head to right, with Arian legend illegible.

Rev.—King on horseback to right, with Victory flying behind, as on the tetradrachms. Greek legend imperfect.

I can read **TYPAN** to left, and **KOIC** below, but I do not see any trace of letters between the horse's feet.

¹³ *Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates.*

Some day, perhaps, a lucky find will give us the king's name in Arian characters. The legend on the right looks as if it was *Maharayasa*.

With respect to the letter **B** at the end of the word ΣΑΝΑΒ, Mr. Thomas has a curious note in which, by some legerdemain, he makes it an undeveloped form of a well-known monogram **g**. This he takes for *Drangia*; but unfortunately in the Greek spelling of the name ΔΡΑΓΓΙΑ there is no **N**, while there are two *gammas*, of which there is no trace in the monogram.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

IV.

(Continued from Vol. VII., page 272.)

ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS FROM 1760.

JOHN BELL, NATURALIST AND ANTIQUARY, 1736—1770.

DEATH, 1770.

Obv.—Shield of Bell, ermines, on a chief *sa.*, an escalllop shell between two bells *ar.*, on either side beetle and spider; above, ANNO XXVII; below, NAT. MDCCXXXVI DENAT MDCCCLXX. *Leg.* IOANNI BELL NATVRÆ ET ANTIQVITATIS INDAGATORI *

Rev.—Pedestal ornamented with two ancient bronze celts and raised on three steps, inscribed SEDULO, FELICI, PROBO; on either side of monument, coins and shells. *Leg.* LABIA SCIENTIÆ VAS PRETIOSVM.

1·85. MB. AR. Pl. IV. 1.

This medal is by John Kirk, but I have been unable to find any particulars about John Bell, whom it commemorates. The inscription on the reverse is from Prov. xx. 15.

JOHN BELLINGHAM, 1771—1812.

ASSASSINATION OF THE RT. HON. SPENCER PERCEVAL, 1812.

Obv.—Bust of Bellingham to left wearing frock-coat, &c. *Leg.* JOHN BELLINGHAM EXECUTED MAY 18. 1812. AGED 42. YEARS.

Rev.—In the field, ASSASSINATED THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SPEN : PERCEVAL MAY 11. 1812. Around, garter inscribed THOU SHALT DO NO MURDER.

1·55. MB. ST. Pl. IV. 2.

John Bellingham, who assassinated the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval on the 11th May, 1812, was a native of St. Neots, in Huntingdonshire, and was born about 1771. His father having removed to London in 1775, the son was apprenticed to a jeweller, and afterwards set up in Oxford Street as a tin-plate worker. Having become bankrupt, he entered a merchant's counting-house, and went to Archangel and commenced business as a timber merchant with a certain Mr. Borbecker. Bellingham, having returned to Hull, was thrown into prison on account of the failure of his partner, and when released went back to Archangel, where he was seized by the Russian authorities for debt and again imprisoned. On his release he repaired to England full of complaints against the Russian Government, and continued from time to time to present memorials to the British Government on the subject of his claims. Exasperated with the failure of these memorials, Bellingham went to the House of Commons on the 11th May and shot Mr. Perceval as he was entering the lobby. For this crime Bellingham was hanged seven days afterwards.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA BELZONI, 1778—1823.

OPENING OF THE PYRAMID OF CEPHRENES, 1818.

1. *Obr.*—Bust of Belzoni to left; below, T. I. WELLS, F. THOMASON & JONES . DIREX. *Leg.* GIOVANNI BELZONI.

Rev.—View of the pyramid; above, OPENED BY G. BELZONI; below, MARCH 2ND 1818.

2·1. MB. Æ. Pl. IV. 8.

Giovanni Battista Belzoni, actor, engineer, and traveller, was born at Padua in 1778, came to England in 1803,

and, being a man of great height and muscular power, gained a living in London by performing feats of strength. Having studied hydraulics at Rome he invented some improvements in water-engines, which he exhibited in various parts of England. In 1815 he was in Egypt, and was employed to remove the colossal granite bust of Rameses II. for transport to England. Encouraged by the success of this undertaking, and endowed with great instinct for discovery, Belzoni spent the next four years in excavating various sites throughout Egypt, Nubia, and Libya. He uncovered the site of the great temple of Rameses II. at Abu-Simbel; opened the grotto sepulchre of Seti I. in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, in the Libyan mountains, from which he procured the beautiful alabaster sarcophagus now in the Soane Museum, in Lincoln's Inn Fields; discovered the opening to the pyramid of Cephrenes, or, as it is generally called, the second pyramid of Gizon, and identified the ruins of the city of Berenice, on the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. In 1819 Belzoni returned to Europe and published a narrative of his operations and discoveries. In 1822 he set out again on a voyage of exploration to Timbuctoo, in the hope of tracing the source of the Niger. He started on his journey from Cape Coast, but on arriving at Gato, in Benin, he was attacked by dysentery and died there, 3rd December, 1823.

The above medal refers to the discovery of the passage leading to the centre of the pyramid of Cephrenes on the 2nd March, 1818. After many days' labour in search of the opening Belzoni came upon three blocks of granite in an inclined direction towards the centre. Having cleared the front of the three stones the entrance proved to be a passage 4 feet high, 3 feet 6 inches wide, formed of large

blocks of granite, which descended towards the centre for 104 feet 5 inches, at an angle of twenty-six degrees. Nearly all this passage was filled up with large stones. At the end of the passage his way was barred by a portcullis, which, having been raised with great difficulty, disclosed beyond further passages, which finally led to the central chamber, in which lay the sarcophagus, not of the great King Rameses II., as Belzoni thought, but of the builder of the pyramid, King Khafra (Cephren).

DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT, 1819.

2. *Obr.*—Two statues of Sekheh seated to left; below,
L. MANFREDINI. *Leg.* OB. DONVM. PATRIA.
GRATA A. MDCCC.XIX.

Rev.—Inscription, IO. BAPT. BELZONI PATAVINO
QVI. CEPHRENIS. PYRAMIDEM APIDISQ.
THEB. SEPVLCRVM PRIMVS. APERVIT
ET. VRBEM. BERENICIS NVBIAE. ET.
LIBYAE. MON IMPAVIDE. DETEXIT.

2.1. MB. N. Pl. IV. 3A.

When Belzoni revisited his native city of Padua in 1819 the inhabitants caused the above gold medal to be struck. It commemorates his presentation of various statues and objects of antiquity from Egypt to Padua, and also his principal discoveries during 1817—1818. The explorations on the site of the pyramid of Cephrenes were conducted in 1817 and 1818, the sepulchre of Seti I. was found in 1817, and the site of the city of Berenice in October, 1818. This medal has a ring for suspension, and was the one presented to Belzoni himself. It was subsequently given by a descendant of Belzoni to the National Collection.

JEREMY BENTHAM, 1748—1832.

DEATH, 1832.

Obv.—Head of Bentham to right. *Leg.* JEREMY BEN-
THAM ESQ. M.A. HALLIDAY F.

Rev.—Within wreath formed of one palm-branch, DIED
JUNE 6 1832 AGED 85.

1·25. MB. AE. Pl. IV. 4.

Jeremy Bentham, the eminent writer on ethics and jurisprudence, born in Red Lion Street, Houndsditch, 15th February, 1748, was educated at Westminster School and at Queen's College, Oxford, where he took his Master's degree at the early age of eighteen. On graduating, his father, who had conceived the most ambitious hopes as to his future, set him to study law at Lincoln's Inn, where he was called to the bar in 1772. Though Bentham had a great love for legal studies he disliked the profession of a barrister, and refused to practise, but turned his attention to the theory of the law, and became the greatest critic of legislation and government of his time. On both these subjects he produced many learned works. In 1792, on the death of his father, Bentham came into possession of a handsome inheritance, and settled in Queen Square Place, Westminster, once Milton's house, where he passed the life of a recluse, scarcely ever allowing any one to visit him. He died there on the 6th June, 1832. Bentham was a man of very nervous temperament, and conceived a horror of society. In his appearance he made a curious picture; his hair white, long, and flowing, his neck bare, wearing a Quaker-like hat and coat, list shoes, and white worsted stockings, drawn over his breeches above the knees. His peculiar expression of countenance is well depicted by the above small medal.

LORD GEORGE BENTINCK, 1802—1848.

DEATH, 1848.

Obv.—Head of Lord Bentinck to left. *Leg.* LORD
GEORGE BENTINCK BORN 1802 DIED
1848. B. WYON SC.

Rev.—Inscription: BRAVE—EARNEST—GENEROUS
—UNSELFISH—TRUE HE WON THE
CONFIDENCE & RIVETED THE ATTACH-
MENT OF A GREAT PARTY WHICH HIS
PATRIOTISM HAD INSPIRED WITH COU-
RAGE & HIS SELF DEVOTION HAD ANI-
MATED WITH ZEAL.

2. MB. Æ. Pl. IV. 5.

Lord William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, commonly called Lord George Bentinck, was the third son of the fourth Duke of Portland; born 27th February, 1802; entered the army when young, and eventually attained the rank of major. Elected in 1826 M.P. for Lynn-Regis, he sat for that borough till his death. At first attached to no party, Lord George voted for Catholic emancipation and for the principles of the Reform Bill. He subsequently joined the Conservative party, which acknowledged Sir Robert Peel as its leader; but when Peel introduced his free trade measures in 1845 Lord George placed himself at the head of the Protection party, in which character he appears on the above medal. He was a man of handsome countenance and of a fine physique, and was deeply interested in all kinds of sport, especially the race-course, at all times showing the utmost zeal to suppress the dishonest practices of the turf. He died suddenly on the 21st September, 1848, whilst walking in the park at Welbeck Abbey.





WILLIAM CARR, LORD BERESFORD, 1768—1854.

BATTLE OF ALBUERA, 1811.

Obv.—Bust of Lord Beresford to right in military dress and wearing the chain and badge of the Spanish military order of St. Hermenegild; below, MUDIE. DIR. WEBB. F. Leg. MARSHAL GEN. LORD BERESFORD.

Rev.—A Polish Lancer attacking with his spear a Highlander, who defends himself with his sword; beneath horse's feet a prostrate figure, dead; in the field, MUDIE. D. BENNET. F. In the exergue, BATTLE OF ALBUERA XVI. MAY MDCCXI.

1·55. MB. AE. ST. Mudie's Medals, No. XVIII.

William Carr, Lord Beresford, afterwards Viscount, the natural son of the first Marquis of Waterford, was born 2nd October, 1768, and entered the army in 1785. After serving in various parts of the world he attained the rank of brigadier-general in 1806, and was present at the battle of Corunna in 1808. In 1809 he took the command of the army in Portugal, and, joining his forces with those of Wellington, acted with great valour at the battle of Busaco in 1810, for which service he was created a Knight of the Bath. In 1811 he commanded at the battle of Albuera, and for this victory received the thanks of Parliament. He was present at Badajoz, Salamanca, and at the various battles of the Pyrenees, and subsequently distinguished himself at Toulouse. In August, 1814, he was created a baron, and in 1823 Viscount Beresford. In the Wellington administration, from 1828 to 1830, he was Master General of the Ordnance. He bore several foreign titles, and was a knight of various

foreign orders. He died 8th January, 1854, when the title became extinct.

The reverse of the medal refers to an incident in the battle of Albuera, which nearly lost the day to the allies. The Polish Lancers, taking advantage of a thick mist, attacked the right flank of the allies in the rear, when in the act of charging the enemy, and threw it into utter confusion, taking many prisoners. The day now seemed lost, but by a rapid advance on the part of General Stewart and General Cole the enemy were driven back and the victory secured. In the onset the Polish Lancers did dreadful execution. They galloped about in all directions, spearing many of the wounded men and their defenceless supporters. The destruction of life is represented by the prostrate figure.

COUNT BARTOLEMO BERGAMI.

TRIAL OF QUEEN CAROLINE, 1820.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Bergami facing, bare, head to right. *Ley.*
COUNT B. BERGAMI.

Rev.—Bust of Queen Caroline to left, laureate, her hair bound with pearls; she wears low dress edged with lace and ermine mantle; around her neck, string of pearls, to which is attached a medallion of George IV. Below & (C. H. Küchler). *Ley.*
CAROLINE D : G . BRITT : REGINA.

1·6. MB. AE. Pl. IV. 6.

Count Bartolemo Bergami, with whom Queen Caroline, wife of George IV., was accused of having committed adultery, entered her service as courier in 1814, during her visit to Italy in that year. Bergami is said to have been of an old family, and to have served in the Italian campaigns of 1812—1814. He soon rose in favour with

the Queen, who advanced him to the rank of an equerry, and then to that of chamberlain. She also procured for him a barony in Sicily, the knighthood of Malta, and decorated him with several orders of knighthood. Bergami's constant attendance on the Queen, added to the number of favours which he received at her hands, caused the circulation in Italy of many reports much to the Queen's disadvantage, and formed the grounds for a bill of divorce, brought by George IV. in 1820, which was, however, abandoned at the third reading. Bergami remained in the Queen's service till 1820, when he returned to Italy, and died at his villa of Fossombrone, near the town of San Marino, 23rd March, 1841, his death being caused by a fall from his horse.

Trial of Queen Caroline, 1820.

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Bergami facing, bare, &c., as on previous medal.

Rev.—Within wreath of laurel, united below by ornamented shield, COURIER TO HER MAJESTY. 1820.

1·6. MB. ST.

WILLIAM HENRY WEST BETTY, Actor, 1791—1874.

HIS APPEARANCE IN LONDON, 1804.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Betty to right, wearing open shirt with frill, coat, and cloak; below, I. WESTWOOD F. Leg. WILLIAM HENRY WEST BETTY.

Rev.—Oak-wreath, within which BRITISH TRAGEDIAN AGED XIII. YEARS. MDCCCVI.

1·95. MB. ST.

William Henry West Betty, actor, better known as the young Roscius, was born 13th September, 1791, at St.

Chad's, Shrewsbury. At an early age having shown signs of possessing a very retentive memory, he was encouraged by his father to practise declamation. In 1801 he was so taken with Mrs. Siddons's acting as Elvira at Belfast that he determined to become an actor. Two years later, in 1803, then only twelve years old, he appeared at Belfast in the character of Osman in the tragedy of *Zara*, a version of Voltaire's *Zaire*. His first appearance was a complete success, and he continued to take various parts in various plays, acting in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. In 1804 Betty came to London and played at the Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres as Selim in *Barbarossa*, Hamlet, and other characters. His reputation as a youthful actor attracted the whole of London, and on one occasion Mr. Pitt adjourned the House of Commons in order that members should be in time to witness his representation of Hamlet. His last appearance as a boy-actor was in March, 1808, at Bath. After that time he retired into private life and studied under Mr. Wollaston, one of the masters of Charterhouse, and afterwards proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge. On his father's death in 1811 Betty again took to the stage and acted till his thirty-third year, his farewell benefit taking place at Southampton in August, 1824. He lived for fifty years in the enjoyment of the large fortune amassed in his early days, and died 24th August, 1874, at his residence in Ampthill Square, London. This and the following medals all refer to Betty's first appearance in London.

2. Obr.—Bust of Betty to right, similar to the preceding; below, i. WESTWOOD. Ley. WILLIAM HENRY WEST BETTY.

Rev.—Within oak-wreath, BRITISH TRAGEDIAN
AGED 18 YEARS A.D. 1804.

1·75. MB. ST.

3. *Obr.*—Bust of Betty to right, bare, except for mantle thrown over his shoulders: hair very curly: on truncation, WESTWOOD. F. *Leg.* WILL^M HENRY WEST BETTY BORN 18TH SEPT^R 1791.

Rev.—Above and within oak-wreath, BRITISH TRAGEDIAN WITH FEELING AND PROPRIETY HE ASTONISHES THE JUDICIOUS OBSERVERS OF HUMAN NATURE 1804.

1·75. MB. Æ. ST.

4. *Obr.*—Bust of Betty to right, &c., similar to the preceding, but on truncation, BETTER.

Rev.—Above, and within oak-wreath, BRITISH TRAGEDIAN HE ASTONISHES THE JUDICIOUS OBSERVERS OF HUMAN NATURE, 1804.

·95. MB. Æ.

This is a medalet copied from the preceding one, and probably made for sale in the streets.

5. *Obr.* Bust of Betty to right, wearing open shirt with frill and coat. *Leg.* THE YOUNG ROSCIUS. T. WEBB. F.

Rev.—Theatrical emblems, lyre, cup, sword, scroll, &c., encircled by wreath: above, on scroll, BORN SEPT^R 13TH 1791. *Leg.* NOT YET MATURE YET MATCHLESS. MDCCCIV.

1·65. MB. Æ. ST. Pl. IV. 7.

6. *Obr.*—Bust of Betty to right, wearing shirt with frill and cloak fastened with brooch in front: below, w. r. (T. Webb fecit). *Leg.* THE YOUNG ROSCIUS.

Rev.—Theatrical emblems, lyre, cup, sword, &c., as on the previous medal.

1·65. MB. Æ.

JOSEPH BIRCH.

THE NOTTINGHAM ELECTION BILL, 1803.

Obl.—Arms of Nottingham, *gu.* two staves, ragulée couped, one in pale, surmounted by the other in fess, *vert*; between two ducal coronets in chief, *or*: the bottom part of the staff in pale, enfiled with a ducal coronet of the last; above, BIRCH; below, CIVIL & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Rev.—Within oak-wreath, FOX. *Leg.* DEFENDER OF OUR CHARTER * MDCCCIII *.

1·45. MB. Æ.

In July, 1802, consequent on a dissolution of Parliament, an election was held at Nottingham, and Sir J. B. Warren and Mr. Joseph Birch, of the Hazles, near Liverpool, were returned; Mr. Daniel P. Coke, one of the former sitting members, being defeated. On account of certain irregular proceedings connected with the election, a petition was presented against the return of Mr. Birch, and the election was declared invalid. A second election was in consequence held in May, 1803, and on that occasion Mr. Birch was defeated and Mr. Coke was successful. In the meantime the two political parties at Nottingham (the yellows and the blues) had been carrying on a sharp struggle in connection with a bill before Parliament for extending the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace for the county of Nottingham into the town of Nottingham. The proposal arose out of the very serious riots which had taken place during the election of 1802. The bill was strongly opposed by Mr. Birch and his friends, the yellows, as an infringement of the charter and the civil rights of the Corporation. When the bill was discussed in the House of Commons on the 29th April, the Right Hon. C. J. Fox most vehemently opposed it in an able

speech in which he defended the conduct of the local magistrates, and met the inuendoes thrown out against them, and also characterized the bill as a bill of pains and penalties upon the magistrates, and a disfranchisement of the people of Nottingham. In spite of Fox's eloquence the bill passed, and was read a third time on the 3rd May, 1803.

SAMUEL BIRCH, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, 1815.

OPPOSITION TO THE CORN BILL, 1815.

Obv.—Bust of Birch to right, wearing frock-coat, shirt with frill, and hair *en queue*. On truncation, w (T. Webb). *Leg.* THE RT. HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

Rev.—Wheatsheaf, from which proceed rays. *Leg.* A FREE IMPORTATION + PEACE & PLENTY +.

1·55. MB. ST. Pl. IV. 8.

Samuel Birch, dramatist and pastrycook, born 8th November, 1757, at an early age was apprenticed to his father, who carried on the business of a pastrycook at 15, Cornhill, was elected Alderman for the Candlewick Ward in 1807, one of the Sheriffs for London in 1811, and Lord Mayor in 1814. In politics he was a strenuous supporter of Pitt's administration, though he vigorously opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. During his year of office as Lord Mayor he opposed the Corn Bill of 1815; and at a meeting of the livery of the City of London, 23rd February, he made a bold attack upon the intended prohibition of the free importation of foreign corn. The course which he took on this occasion is commemorated by the above medal. In 1836 Birch retired

from business, and died 10th December, 1841. He was a man of considerable literary attainments, and wrote a number of poems and musical dramas, some of which were produced at the Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Haymarket Theatres.

MARSHAL BLÜCHER, 1742—1819.

PEACE OF PARIS, 1814.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Blücher to left in military dress, and wearing various decorations: ribbon across his breast.
Inner Leg. G. L. VON BLUCHER. PRINCE DE WAGSTADT. *Outer Leg.* THE HERO OF FREEDOM THE PRIDE OF OUR COUNTRY AND ORNAMENT OF HUMAN NATURE .:.

Rev.—A lion and a lamb lying side by side; between them a cornucopie; in the background, church; in the foreground, wheatsheaf and book inscribed, PEACE 1814: above, rays of light, from which descends a bird with laurel branch. *Leg.* WE PRAISE THEE, O GOD, WE ACKNOWLEDGE THEE TO BE THE LORD.

1·65. MB. Æ. ST.

Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher, Prince of Wahlstadt, Field Marshal of Prussia, born at Rostock, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 16th December, 1742; served during the Seven Years' War in a regiment of Swedish hussars, but being taken prisoner by the Prussians, he soon afterwards exchanged into the Prussian army. He served throughout the French campaign, first as a colonel; and afterwards as commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, and was present at the battles of Auerstadt, Lützen, Bautzen, Haynau, and Leipzig. On the 1st Jan., 1814, he crossed the Rhine and determined to press forward for Paris,

and in spite of a severe check which he received from Napoleon, which compelled him to retire for a time to Châlons, he defeated the latter at Laon, and entered the French capital with the allied armies on the 31st March. This campaign was closed by the Peace of Paris ; and for his distinguished services Blücher was created Prince of Wahlstadt. After Napoleon's return from Elba in 1815, Blücher again resumed the chief command of the Prussian army, but was defeated by Napoleon at Ligny. He, however, soon recovered his ground, and arrived on the field of Waterloo in time to complete the defeat of the French army, which he pursued to Paris, and entered that city with the Allies for the second time on the 7th July. This campaign terminated Blücher's brilliant military career, and he died 12th September, 1819. The medals of Blücher described were all struck in England, and therefore form a part of the National series ; those struck in Germany are not given.

The above medal refers to the state of affairs brought about by the Peace of Paris, which, however, was destined to be of short duration. It is the work of John Westwood, who made similar medals of George (IV.), Prince of Wales, Wellington, Frederick William III. of Prussia, Alexander, Emperor of Russia, &c.

PEACE OF PARIS, 1814.

2. *Obr.*—Busts jugate to right of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Duke of Wellington, and Marshal Blücher : above, a scroll, NON NOBIS SED MUNDO NATI; below, MDCCCXIV.
Leg. EMP: OF RUSSIA . KING OF PRUSSIA . DUKE OF WELLINGTON & MARSHAL BLUCHER.

Rev.—Britannia seated on rock in sea, rests her right hand on shield bearing the royal arms of England, and her left on rudder: at her feet, a child holding book, inscribed XIX within serpent and PEACE TO EURO MAY 30 1814: below, on rock, K & S (Kettle & Sons). *Ley.* NULLA DIES PACEM NEC FŒDERA RUMPET.

1·9. MB. ST.

The Emperor Alexander of Russia and Frederick William III. of Prussia were present with the allied armies when they entered Paris on the 31st March, 1814. Wellington did not arrive till some weeks afterwards, as the defeat of Marshal Soult at Toulouse occurred on the 10th April, or nearly a fortnight after the fall of Paris.

PEACE OF PARIS, 1814.

3. *Obr.*—Busts jugate to right of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, Wellington, and Blücher.
Ley. EMP^R RUSS^A KING PRUSS^A WELLINGTON BLUCHER :

Rev.—Within oak-wreath, PEACE OF 1814; above, rays; around, BE THANKFUL REJOICE.

•95. MB. ST.

The obverse of this medal is copied from the preceding; it is a cheap memorial of the Peace of Paris. There is a variety (MB. ST.) without the rays above the wreath on the reverse.

PEACE OF PARIS, 1814.

4. *Obr.*—Bust of Blücher to left in military dress, wearing ribbon across his breast and cross. *Ley.* F. MAR. G. L. VON BLUCHER.

Rev.—Inscription, THE LIBERTIES OF EUROPE REST^D. BY THE UNITED EFFORTS OF ENGLAND AND HER AUGUST ALLIES. THE PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE SIGNED MAY 30 1814.

·95. MB. Brass.

A medalet of the same character as the preceding one.

RELIEF OF THE HANSEATIC TOWNS, DEPARTURE OF NAPOLEON FOR ELBA, ETC., 1814.

5. *Obv.*—Blücher in military dress and holding his marshal's staff in his right hand, on horseback, to left, and trampling on Davoust, who lies extended on his back, his broken staff at his side. In the distance, before the horse, is a view of the Hanseatic towns, with people praying, and behind, Napoleon taking his departure for the Island of Elba: above, on scroll, BLUCHER. THE FALL OF HAMBURGH'S TYRANT, DAVOUST. ELBA'S EMPEROR. Around edge, STRUCK BY J. PARISH IN HONOUR OF HIS OLD FRIEND BLUCHER. In the exergue, HALLIDAY, FECIT.

Rev.—Within oval medallion ornamented with scrolls and palm and laurel branches, bust of Wellington facing, in military dress and wearing ribbon and star of the Garter: above, angel and crown, from which proceed rays: below, on mantle—
SUCH WELLINGTON ART THOU, TRIUMPHANT FAME
SHALL THRO THE WORLD IMMORTALIZE THY NAME.
T. H. P. (Thomas Halliday fecit.)

2·9. MB. R. X.

After the battle of Leipzig all the French garrisons in the Prussian towns were compelled to surrender; and amongst these were the Hanseatic Cities, over which Napoleon had placed Marshal Davoust, one of his most able generals. Davoust is said to have treated the inhabi-

tants of these cities, especially those of Hamburg, where he resided, with great harshness. Napoleon abdicated on the 4th April, 1814, and was allowed to retain the title of emperor with the sovereignty of the island of Elba, to which he retired on board a British vessel. Hence on the medal he is called "Elba's Emperor."

SUCCESES OF 1814.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Blücher to left: below, m. (John Milton.)
Leg. MARSHAL VON BLUCHER.

Rev.—Inscription, THE GLORY OF PRUSSIA AND
 THE DREAD OF HER FOES.

1·8. MB. Æ.

Blücher, by his military tactics, had made himself a terror to the French, especially during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814. The chief feature of his generalship was to attack the enemy impetuously, then to retreat when the resistance offered was too great for his troops to overcome. The mode of his attacks gained for him the nickname of "Marshal Forward" from the Russians; but by Napoleon, who knew the effect of them only too well, he was called "le vieux diable."

BATTLE OF WATERLOO, 18 JUNE, 1815.

7. *Obv.*—Bust of Blücher to left, bare: on shoulder, HALLIDAY. F. *Leg.* G. L. VON BLUCHER PRINCE OF WAGSTADT (*sic*).

Rev.—Bust of Wellington to left, in military dress, wearing ribbon across his breast, and various orders. *Inner leg.* DUKE OF WELLINGTON. *Outer leg.* TO COMMEMORATE THE GLORIOUS AND EVER MEMORABLE VICTORY OF WATERLOO. JUNE 18. 1815 :: .

2·1. MB. Æ.

A very great share of the credit of the victory is due to Blücher. Though driven back by Napoleon two days previously he was not discouraged ; and his timely arrival at Waterloo perhaps did more to complete the victory than if he had been present at the commencement of the battle.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO, 18 JUNE, 1815.

8. *Olv.*—Within laurel wreath heads of Blücher and Wellington facing each other : above, BLÜCHER WELLINGTON : below, outside wreath, LOOS.

Rev.—Inscription, DER SIEGGEWOHNTEN HELDEN HERRLICHSTER SIEG VON GOTT GEGBEN ZUM UNVERWELKLICHEN LORBEERKRANZ —— VERNICHTUNG DES MEINEIDIGEN FEINDES NACH VIER-TÄGIGER SCHLACHT BEI LA BELLE ALLIANCE D. 18 JUNI 1815.

1·45. MB. AR.

The four days' fighting refers to the repulse of Blücher by Napoleon at Ligny on the 16th June, and the fruitless attack by Marshal Néy on the Belgians and Wellington on the same day at Quatre Bras, and to skirmishing which preceded and followed the engagement at Waterloo on the 17th June. The battle of Waterloo is called by the Germans, "The battle of La Belle Alliance."

THE ALLIES ENTER PARIS, 7 JULY, 1815.

9. *Olv.*—Heads of Blücher and Wellington, with wreath as in previous medal.

Rev.—Inscription, DER ENTSCHEIDENDEN HELDEN-SCHLACHT GLORREICHE VOLLENDUNG —— EINZUG DER PREUSSICHEN UND ENGLISCHEN SIEGER IN PARIS D. 7 JULIUS 1815.

1·45. MB. AE.

It is said that when the Allies occupied Paris for the second time, Blücher manifested a strong desire to retaliate on that city the spoliation that other capitals had suffered at the hands of the French, but that he was held in check by the Duke of Wellington.

THE ALLIES ENTER PARIS, 10 JULY, 1815.

10. *Obr.*—Blücher and Wellington holding right hands over lighted altar: above, Victory crowning each with laurel-wreath. *Leg.* AUFS NEUE SIEGSTEN SIE ZU ALLER VOLCKER GLUCK. In the exergue, BLU : U : WELLIN JETTON.

Rev.—The Allies entering Paris. *Leg.* ZWEITER EINZUG DER ALLIERTEN MONAR : IN PARIS. In the exergue, DEN 10. JULY. 1815.

1·8. MB. AR.

This is a well-executed German medalet, after the style of Dutch jetons of the seventeenth century. The allied sovereigns who entered Paris on the 10th were the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Emperor of Austria.

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN BOLTON, 1756—1837.

ROYAL LIVERPOOL VOLUNTEERS DISBANDED, 1806.

Obr.—Ornamented shield with arms of Bolton: below, on scroll, ROYAL LIVERPOOL VOLUNTEERS.

Rev.—Below crown, LIEUT COLONEL BOLTON TO SERGEANT IEAGER FOR HIS FAITHFUL SERVICES AUGUST 25 1806.

1·6. MB. AR.

In 1803 the inhabitants of Liverpool showed their loyalty and their promptitude to aid the Government in

the defence of the ports of England, by forming themselves into military associations for the protection of their own city. Amongst those who took an active part in the movement was John Bolton, who offered to raise and equip at his own expense a regiment of volunteers, to consist of six hundred men. This offer was accepted by the War Office, and the regiment was embodied and equipped in a very short period. Bolton was appointed colonel, and the regiment was commanded by thirty-seven commissioned and non-commissioned officers. It was estimated at the time that the cost of raising this troop was over £10,000. The regiment was reviewed by Prince William of Gloucester when he visited Liverpool in the same year. On the 25th August, 1806, in consequence of a new code of regulations for volunteer corps, the regiment was disbanded; and on the occasion Colonel Bolton presented one of the above medals in silver to each of the non-commissioned officers, of whom three survived Bolton, and were present, wearing their medals, at his funeral in 1837.

There is a second specimen in the British Museum of the same type, but entirely engraved.

J. BOLTON.

WATERLOO ESTATE MEDAL, 1835.

Ov.—Within wreath formed of roses, shamrocks, and thistles, bust of Bolton to left: on neck, T. H. F. (Thomas Halliday fecit): above, J. BOLTON, ESQ.: WATERLOO ESTATE. On band of wreath, 1835.

Rev.—Within laurel-wreath, A REWARD FOR GOOD BEHAVIOUR.

2·1. MB. AE. Pl. IV. 9.

I have been unable, after a long search, to find any particulars about the Waterloo Estate; but I am disposed to identify the J. Bolton on this medal with the Colonel Bolton who issued the previous one. Bolton was a most liberal supporter of all scientific, industrial, and charitable institutions connected with Liverpool and its vicinity.

CHARLES PHILIP DE BOSSET, DIED 1844.

GOVERNOR OF CEPHALONIA, 1810—1813.

1. *Olv.*—Head of De Bosset to right: behind, monogram of Κ Π (ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ ΠΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ): before, monogram of Δ Β (ΔΕ ΒΟΣΣΕΤ). Below, monogram of Α Β (Antoine Bovy).

Rev.—Within wreath of laurel and oak, ΚΑΡΟΛΩ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩ ΔΕ ΒΟΣΣΕΤ ΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΜΗΤΟΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΝΗΣΟΥ ΤΑΥΤΙΣ (sic) Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΩΝ Λ.ΩΙΓ. (The Council of Cephalonia dedicates this medal to Charles Philip De Bosset, the most able military and civil Governor of this island, in the year 1813.)

1·05. MB. AE. Pl. IV. 10.

Charles Philip de Bosset, a native of Switzerland, entered the service of the British army in August, 1796, and was actively employed in his own country until September, 1798, in which month he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant. In 1799 he was engaged on special service on the Continent with the Swiss, Austrian, and Russian armies, and was present at various actions terminating in the battle of Zurich in the same year. He was taken on board the *Dolphin* packet by a French privateer in June, 1800, after an action of two hours. He was promoted to a captaincy in October, 1803; and in 1805 served in the expedition to Hanover, and afterwards in Zealand, being present at the siege and surrender of

Copenhagen in 1807. He joined the expedition to Sweden under Sir John Moore; and from there went to Portugal in 1808, where he received the rank of major. In 1810 he was engaged at the siego of St. Maura, in the Ionian Islands, and at the storming of the enemy's entrenchments before that place. When Colonel Lowe was appointed civil and military chief of Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Ithaca, and Zante, he nominated De Bosset his deputy in Cephalonia. De Bosset was a man of great abilities and firmness, and was animated by a love of the strictest justice. Colonel Lowe invested him with full powers, and punishments were often inflicted without trial on such officers as were guilty of bribery, corruption, or other crimes. With such freedom of action De Bosset endeavoured to maintain justico and good order, and he laboured hard to re-establish better government in Cephalonia, where he remained till 1813. The high opinion in which his actions were held is well attested by the above medal, which was struck in his honour by the local council of Cephalonia. He does not appear after this date to have been in active service again. In June, 1814, he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and in 1815 was created a Military Companion of the Bath, and in 1831 a Knight of Hanover. In 1837 he was made a full colonel. He appears to have died in 1844, as his name is not to be found in the Army List after that date. De Bosset was the author of a treatise on the coins of Cephalonia and Ithaca, *Proceedings in Perga and the Ionian Islands, &c.*

I have attributed this medal to Antoine Bovy, a Swiss artist, on account of the initials under the bust; and this attribution is probably correct, as De Bosset was of the same nationality.

GOVERNOR OF CEPHALONIA, 1810—1818.

2. *Obv.*—Within wreath of laurel and oak, inscription, A CARLO FILIPPO DE BOSSET OTTIMO REGGITORE ED ILLVSTRATORE DI QUEST' ISOLA IL CORPO AMMINISTRATIVO CEFALENO MDCCCXIII.

Rev.—Within wreath of palm and olive, inscription, ΚΑΡΟΛΩΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ ΔΕ ΒΟΣΣΕΤ, &c., as on previous medal.

1·25. MB. Æ.

BERIAH BOTFIELD, 1807—1863.

HARROW SCHOOL PRIZE MEDAL, 1854.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Botfield to right: on neck, L. C. WYON.
Below, 1854.

Rev.—Inscription, PRAESTANTIAE IN LINGUIS COLENDIS RECENTIORIBUS HOC PRAE-MIUM SOLENNE BERIAH BOTFIELD HARROVIENSIBUS PROPOSUIT SUIS: below, two branches of laurel.

1·8. MB. Æ. Pl. IV. 11.

Beriah Botfield, born at Earl's Ditton, in Shropshire, 5th March, 1807, was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford. In early life he studied botany and geology, but afterwards abandoned these pursuits for that of bibliography. He sat in Parliament for Ludlow from 1840 to 1847, and again from 1857 to his death, 7th August, 1863. The above medal was established in 1854 as a prize for the encouragement of the study of modern languages at Harrow School.

HIS RE-ELECTION FOR LUDLOW, 1857.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Botfield to right, &c., as on previous medal.

Rev.—Within beaded circle, BERIAH BOTFIELD M:P:
F:R:S:

1·8. MB. Æ.

The reverse of this medal was made in 1857, when Botfield was again elected M.P. for Ludlow. This medal was issued for presentation to his friends. Botfield was a member of a large number of literary and scientific societies, for which he edited many works; his attention to literature obtaining for him distinguished honours. He was President of the British Archaeological Association in 1860.

MATTHEW BOULTON, 1728—1809.

HIS NEW MACHINE FOR STRIKING COINS, 1798.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Bonlton to right, wearing frock-coat and shirt with frill; hair *en queue*. *Leg.* MATT. BOULTON ESQ^R. F.R.S.L.&ED. F.R.I. & A.S.

Rev.—Inscription, arranged in concentric circles, M: BOULTON ERIGEA A SOHO ANGL: 1788 UNE MACH : A VAPEUR PR : FRAP : MONN : 1798 . IL ER : UNE BIEN SUPERIEURE A 8. BALANCIERS NOUVEAUX . CES CERC : & CHIF : MARQ : LE DIAM : & NO : DE PIECES FRAP : P : MIN : P : 8 ENFANS SANS FATIG : DU PL : PET : OU PL : GR : VOLUME. OU DE 8 DIFF : GRAND : ENSEMBLE . ON PEUT AUGM : L'EFF : AU DEG : NECESS. In centre, head of Science facing, rayed. Opposite each circle of inscription is a number, showing how many pieces of that size could be struck per minute by Bolton's new machine..

1·6. MB. AE.

Matthew Boulton, engineer, born at Birmingham, 3rd September, 1728, was apprenticed in early life to his father's business of a silver stamper and piercer. At his father's death in 1757, with a view to extending his business, he founded the famous Soho works, which soon

obtained a great reputation for the high character of work executed there. Boulton not only exerted himself to improve the workmanship but also the artistic merits of his wares, and with that aim procured the finest examples of art work, not only in metal, but also in pottery and other materials. The growth of his factory, and the consequent increased need for motive power, induced Boulton to direct his attention to the steam engine; but it was not until he obtained the help of Watt that he was able to bring this invention to any perfection. Provided with his new machine, Boulton occupied himself with the reform of the copper coinage, and in 1788 set up several coining presses at Soho to be worked by steam. After striking large quantities of coins for the East India Company and for foreign governments, he undertook, in 1797, the production of a new copper coinage for Great Britain, than which no better coinage of that class has ever been issued. In the preparation of his dies Boulton employed the most skilful artists, both English and foreign. In the scientific world Boulton held a prominent place, and he was a Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh. His house at Soho was a meeting-place for all scientific men. He died there, August 17th, 1809. The above medal was struck as a record of the rapidity of his coining machines.

HIS DEATH, 1809.

2. Obr.—Bust of Boulton to right, wearing frock-coat, shirt with frill; hair *en queue*: on truncation,
P. WYON: below, MODELED BY ROUW PUBLISHED BY THOMASON. Leg. MATTHEW BOULTON ESQ^E. F.R.S. L^N. & ED. F.R.I. & A.S.

Rev.—Inscription across the field, THE LIBERAL & ENLIGHTENED PATRON OF ARTS AND MANUFACTURES; around, BORN AT BIRMINGHAM SEP. III. MDCCXXVIII. DIED AUG. XVII. MDCCCIX. AGED LXXXI.

4. M.B. AE.

The obverse is in very high relief, and is interesting as showing the perfection of the machinery for striking medals invented by Boulton and Watt.

HIS DEATH, 1809.

3. *Obr.*—Bust of Boulton to right, wearing frock-coat and shirt with frill, hair *en queue*: below a plain scroll. *Leg.* MATTHEW BOULTON, Esq. F.R.S. &c.

Rev.—Within wreath of palm, FAREWEL. *Leg.* BRIGHTER SCENES I SEEK ABOVE IN THE REALMS OF PEACE AND LOVE.

1·9 M.B. AE. ST. (Obverse.) Pl. IV. 12.

This medal is the work of C. H. Küchler, a native of Flanders, who was employed by Boulton at the Soho Mint. There is in the British Museum an unfinished plaque, with the bust slightly altered from the obverse of the above piece, and with the scroll inscribed, DIED AT SOHO. M : 7. 180—AGED . 00Y^{RS}. OM : OD :

HIS DEATH, 1809.

4. *Obr.*—Bust of Boulton to right, similar to the preceding; below, two genii, one holds lighted torch, the other places laurel branch on model of the mint at "soho." *Leg.* MATTHEW BOULTON F.R.S.

Rev.—Inscription, BY THE SKILFUL EXERTION OF A MIND TURNED TO PHILOSOPHY &

MECHANICS, THE APPLICATION OF A TASTE CORRECT & REFINED, & AN ARDENT SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE, HE IMPROVED, EMBELLISHED, & EXTENDED THE ARTS & MANUFACTURES OF HIS COUNTRY; LEAVING HIS ESTABLISHMENT OF SOHO A NOBLE MONUMENT OF HIS GENIUS, INDUSTRY, & SUCCESS. THE CHARACTER HIS TALENTS HAD RAISED, HIS VIRTUES ADORNED & EXALTED. ACTIVE TO DISCOVER MERIT, & PROMPT TO RELIEVE DISTRESS. HIS ENCOURAGEMENT WAS LIBERAL, HIS BENEVOLENCE UNWEARIED. HONOURED AND ADMIRED AT HOME & ABROAD, HE CLOSED A LIFE EMINENTLY USEFUL, THE 17TH AUGUST 1809 AGED 81. ESTEEMED, LOVED, AND LAMENTED.

1·75. MB. AE.

This medal is probably by Rouw. The inscription is taken from the mural monument erected to Boulton's memory in the side aisle of Handsworth Church, in the composition of which his partner, James Watt, assisted.

HIS DEATH AND BURIAL, 1809.

5. *Obr.*—Inscription, MATTHEW BOULTON DIED AUGUST 17TH 1809 AGED 81 YEARS. Above and below, plain line.

Rer.—Within wreath of palm, IN MEMORY OF HIS OBSEQUIES AUGST 24TH 1809.

1·6. MB. AE.

This medal is probably the work of C. H. Küchler.

MEMORIAL, 1809.

6. *Obr.*—Bust of Boulton to right, wearing frock-coat, shirt with frill; hair *en queue*; below, PIDGEON F. Leg. MATTHAEV'S BOVLTON.

Rev.—Within laurel-wreath, INVENTAS AVT QVI
VITAM EXCOLVERE PER ARTIS.

2·5. MB. \ae .

MEMORIAL, 1809.

7. *Obr.*—Bust of Boulton to right, wearing frock-coat, shirt with frill; hair *en queue*.

1·9. MB. ST.

This is a proof for the obverse of a medal by C. H. Küchler. It is struck on the flan of the medal commemorating the battle of Trafalgar, which had been issued by Boulton in 1805 for presentation to those who took part in that engagement.

MEMORIAL, 1809.

8. *Obr.*—Bust of Boulton to right, &c., similar to the preceding; below, GALLE F. *Ley.* MATTHEW BOULTON.

No reverse.

2·3. MB. ST.

This medal is by André Galle, a French artist. No reverse appears ever to have been executed for it.

FRANCIS HENRY EGERTON, EARL OF BRIDgewater,
1758—1829.

MEMORIAL.

Obr.—Head of the Earl of Bridgewater to right; on neck, DONADIO F.

Rev.—Inscription, FRANCIS HENRY EGERTON,
EARL OF BRIDgewater.

1·6. MB. \ae . Pl. IV. 13.

The subject of this medal was the son of John Egerton, Bishop of Durham, and grand-nephew of the first Duke

of Bridgewater. He was born in 1758, and succeeded his brother as eighth earl in 1823. He had been educated for holy orders, and was appointed Prebendary of Durham. He died unmarried in February, 1829, when the title became extinct. By his will he left £8,000 invested in the public funds to be paid to the author of the best treatise "On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Creation." The then President of the Royal Society of London, Davies Gilbert, to whom the selection of the authors was left, with the advice of others, decided that instead of being given to one man for one work the money should be allotted to eight different persons for eight separate treatises, though all connected with the same primary theme. These contributions are known as the "Bridgewater Treatises." The Earl of Bridgewater also left upwards of £12,000 to the British Museum, the interest to be employed in the purchase and care of the MSS. for public use.

The above medal is one of the Durand series of celebrated men of all countries issued between 1820 and 1846.

[**VISCOUNT BRIDPORT, see HOOD, ALEXANDER.**]

JOHN BRIGHT and others.

CORN LAW AGITATION, 1846.

Obr.—Within four ornamented compartments the bust of J. BRIGHT ESQ. M.P., R. COBDEN ESQ. M.P., C. WILSON ESQ. M.P., and HON. C. PELHAM VILLIERS M.P. In centro a scroll inscribed CORN BILL PASSED JUNE 25 1846; above, caduceus and rudder; below, branches of laurel and oak, on which scales and fasces inscribed LEAGUE. *Leg.* ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE ESTABLISHED 1839.

Rev.—Britannia standing facing, holding palm-branch and resting her left hand on rudder, which is placed on a globe; at her side her shield. She is surrounded by various emblems of arts and commerce; in the distance, sea with ships; below, A & M. BIRM^X (Allen & Moore, Birmingham).
Leg. FREE TRADE. In the exergue, 1846.

1·75. MB. AR.

This medal refers to the formation of the Anti-Corn Law League on the 20th March, 1839, the result of the unsuccessful efforts of Villiers and others to obtain an inquiry into the general effect of the Corn Laws. The object of the league was accomplished by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.

DANIEL DE LISLE BROCK, 1762—1842.

EXPORT PRIVILEGES OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS DEFENDED, 1835.

Obv.—Bust nearly facing of Brock in frock-coat. *Leg.*
 DANIEL DE LISLE BROCK, ESQ. CHIEF
 MAGISTRATE & PRESIDENT OF THE STATES, GUERN-
 SEY, BORN DEC. 10. 1762. HALLIDAY, F. E. LE.
 BAS PINXT.

Rev.—Within laurel wreath, WHOSE DEVOTION TO HIS COUNTRY'S WEAL HAS OBTAINED HIM A NAME MORE LASTING AND IMPERISHABLE THAN ALL THE HONOURS WHICH RANK AND TITLES COULD BESTOW. 1835; above, shield and crest of Guernsey.

2. MB. AE.

Daniel De Lisle Brock, third son of John Brock of Guernsey, born 10th Dec., 1762, was elected, in 1798, a jurat of the Royal Court of Guernsey, and on four separate occasions, between 1804 and 1810, was de-

puted by the States of Guernsey to represent them in London in respect of certain measures affecting the trade and ancient privileges of the island. In 1821 he was appointed bailiff, or chief magistrate, of the island, and at that time, and again in 1832, was despatched to London to protect the interests of Guernsey. Three years later, in 1835, he was once more despatched to London, at the head of a deputation, to protest against a Bill to deprive the Channel Islands of their right of exporting corn into England free of duty, and chiefly through his remonstrances the Bill was withdrawn. On this occasion Brock was presented with a service of plate, his portrait was placed in the Royal Court-house of Guernsey, and the above medal was struck. He died in Guernsey 24th Sept., 1842, and received a public funeral.

SIR ISAAC BROCK, 1769—1812.

MEMORIAL, 1816.

Olv.—Funeral urn on base, crowned by two genii; base inscribed FELL OCT 18 1812. *Leg.* S^E ISAAC BROCK THE HERO OF UP^H CANADA.

Rev.—Between two stars, 1816. *Leg.* SUCCESS TO COMMERCE & PEACE TO THE WORLD.

1·05. MB. AE.

Sir Isaac Brock, eighth son of John Brock of Guernsey, and brother of Daniel De Lisle Brock (see preceding medal), born 6th Oct., 1769, entered the army in 1785, and purchased a lieutenancy in the 8th (King's) in 1790, and in the next year exchanged into the 49th foot, with which he proceeded to Jamaica and Barbadoes. Having returned to England, he joined General Moore in his expedition to North Holland in 1799, and was present at

the battles of Egmont-op-Zee and Copenhagen, and in the operations in the Baltic in 1801. In 1802 he returned to Canada, and in 1810 held the command of the troops of Upper Canada, which he defended against the attacks of the Americans under General Hull in 1812. With a much inferior force he compelled General Hull to retire to Detroit, and afterwards to surrender with all his forces (16th Aug., 1812). For the judgment and skill displayed at this juncture, Brock was made an extra Knight of the Bath 10th Oct., 1812, but a few days afterwards, 13th Oct., he was killed in an engagement at the village of Queenstown against the forces of Major-General Van Rensselaer. He was buried in one of the bastions of Fort St. George, but his remains were afterwards, in 1824, carried to a vault in Queenstown heights. A monument was also erected to him in the south transept of St. Paul's.

SIR BENJAMIN BRODIE, 1783—1862.

HONORARY MEDAL, 1844.

Obl.—Head of Brodie to left: behind, BRODIE; below,
W. WYON. R.A.

Rev.—Science, naked to waist, kneeling to left on left knee and lighting lamp, which is placed on an ornamental stand; her left hand rests on small jug.
Leg. E . TENEBRIS . TANTIS . TAM .
 CLARUM . EXTOLLERE . LUMEN . QUI .
 POTUISTI. In the exergue, CONSOCII . ET .
 DISCIPULI GRATULANTES MDCCXL.
 W. WYON . R.A.

2·85. MB. AE. Pl. IV. 14.

Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie, the eminent surgeon, born in 1783, came to London at the age of eighteen, and devoted himself to the study of anatomy. He entered

St. George's Hospital in 1803, of which he was elected assistant surgeon in 1808, and surgeon from 1822 to 1840. For papers contributed he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1810, and having operated successfully on George IV. was made sergeant-surgeon by William IV. He was President of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1844, and of the Royal Society in 1858. He died at Broome Park 21st Oct., 1862. The above medal was presented to Sir Benjamin Brodie in 1844, upon his resignation of the office of surgeon to St. George's Hospital after thirty years of office in that institution.

LIEUT.-COL. WILLIAM BRODIE.

SALISBURY VOLUNTEERS PRIZE MEDAL, 1882.

*Obv.—Inscription, SALISBURY VOLUNTEER INFANTRY Grenadier Company. Presented by LIEUT.
COL^l. RRODIE TO*

*Rev.—Inscription, JOSEPH PICKETT, one of the Eight
best shots in the REGIMENT when firing with
Ball on the 18th of Jan^r. 1882.*

1·55. MB. R.

On account of the agricultural riots which had taken place in Wiltshire during the months of November and December, 1830, arrangements were made in January, 1831, for the formation at Salisbury of a body of local volunteers for the protection of the city and the surrounding districts. The corps was speedily completed and consisted of four companies, which were to be placed under the command of two field officers, a colonel, and a major. William Brodie, an active inhabitant of Salisbury, who had taken charge of the special constables who were sworn in to protect the city during the recent riots, was

chosen colonel. When Parliament was dissolved in Dec., 1832, Brodie was returned as the representative of the city at the head of the poll. The above medal was presented to the corps by Col. Brodie. There is a second specimen in the National Collection which is entirely engraved.

CHARLES BROOKER.

BRIGHTON ELECTION, 1841.

Obr.—Inscription, around, CHARLES BROOKER ESQ.: CANDIDATE FOR BRIGHTON:; in field, NINETEEN VOLUNTARY VOTES—JUNE 30 1841.

Rev.—Inscription, ADVOCATED ADOPTION OF THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER—SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE—REPEAL OF THE NEW POOR LAW.

. 1·35. MB. AE.

Charles Brooker, of Alfriston, in Sussex, was one of the candidates for the borough of Brighton at the general election of 1841. He stood as the Chartist candidate, and held very advanced views, being in favour of vote by ballot, universal suffrage, payment of members of Parliament, separation of Church and State, and the repeal of the New Poor Laws. At the nomination the show of hands was against him, but he proceeded to the poll on the 30th June, and only obtained the support of 19 voters, by whom this medal was ordered to be struck.

LORD BROUGHAM, 1778—1868.

REPEAL OF THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL OF 1807 ADVOCATED.

1. *Obr.*—Head of Brougham to right, bare. *Leg.* HENRY BROUGHAM ESQ^{RE}., M.P. MDCCCXII. HAL-LIDAY F.

Rev.—Inscription, OF COMMERCE, THE ENLIGHTENED FRIEND, OF NATIONAL INTEGRITY, THE VIRTUOUS, ELOQUENT, AND UNDAUNTED, SUPPORTER.

1·9. MB. AE.

Henry Peter, Baron Brougham and Vaux, born at Edinburgh, September 19, 1778, was educated at the High School and University of that city. In 1805 he came to London, and having been called to the English bar in 1808, he soon signalled his powers as an orator. Elected M.P. for Camelford in 1810, he sat for that borough till 1813, and afterwards for Winchelsea, 1815—1830, and York County, 1830; was appointed Attorney-General to Queen Caroline in 1820, and Lord Chancellor, 1830—1834; after which date he held no further office, but took an active part in all social and political matters till his death in 1868. His miscellaneous writings are of great extent and upon an almost incredible number of subjects. This and the following medal refer to Brougham's opposition to the Orders in Council of November, 1807, prohibiting trade with France and the countries dependent upon her, and insisting on American vessels coming first to our ports and paying a tax. These Orders were considered very detrimental to the commercial interests of the country, and those relating to America were repealed on June 23, 1812.

REPEAL OF THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL OF 1807 ADVOCATED.

2. *Obl.—Head of Brougham, &c., as on the preceding.*

Rev.—Inscription, A MÉMORIAL OF GRATITUDE FROM THE INHABITANTS OF BIRMINGHAM. AUG^r. 1 1812.

1·9. MB. ST.

H. A. GRUEBER.

MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF STYCAS.—About the year 1867 a small find of eight stycas took place, and they have recently come into my possession.

They proved, after careful cleaning, to be all in fine condition (three were of bronze and five of silver), and I am therefore enabled to supply their exact descriptions, as follow:—

1. *Obv.* — + EANBALD = +
Rev. — + EDILVEARD = + AR.
2. *Obv.* — + VIGMVND IIREP = ♫
Rev. — + COENRED = + AR.
3. *Obv.* — + VIGMVND AREP (retrograde) = ♫
Rev. — + EDILVEARD = + AE.
4. *Obv.* — + EANRED REX = +
Rev. — + HRRED · = + AR.
5. *Obv.* — + EANRED REX = +
Rev. — + HVA · ETRED = + AR.
6. *Obv.* — + EANRED REX = O
Rev. — + VILHEAN = O AR.
7. *Obv.* — + EDILRED REX = +
Rev. — + BROGE · R = + AE.
8. *Obv.* — + EDILRED · RE (retrograde) = +
Rev. — + VENDELGERH = + AE.

Although these coins do not present any new type, it is worthy of notice that we have for the first time met with an unmistakable silver styca of Vigmund.

The significance of so many stycas being struck in silver is not easy to be satisfactorily accounted for, unless they formed part of a silver currency, but I will not venture so bold an assertion.

I have in my cabinet over twenty silver stycas (about one-fifth of the total number) of Eanbald, Vigmund, Eardulf (?), and Eanred; and I have seen specimens of Vulshen and Ethelred II.

No silver stycas of Redulf or Osberht have hitherto come under my notice.

NATHAN HEYWOOD.

RARE AND UNPUBLISHED COMMONWEALTH COINS.—I have on previous occasions noted rare or unknown pieces of the Commonwealth, and to these I can now add two sixpences of that period, both of which are in my own collection, and are dated respectively 1657 and 1659. Mr. Hawkins states that the former of these existed in the Hunter Museum, and Mr. Kenyon, in a later edition, mentions that one with the figure 7 struck over 6 was also in the possession of Mr. Wakeford. My specimen, purchased at the sale of the late Major Stewart-Thorburn, is probably the same piece as the latter. The sixpence of 1659 is given with some expression of doubt by Mr. Hawkins, on the authority of a manuscript note by Mr. Tutet.

H. MONTAGU.

THE NORTH BORNEO COINAGE.—Mr. Acting Consul-General Treacher, writing from Brunei, says that during 1884 the copper coinage of British North Borneo was proclaimed legal tender in Brunei, taking the place, to a large extent, of the Chinese cash, which used to be imported by one of the Chinese traders. The new coinage is of the same intrinsic value as that of the Straits Settlements, and is taken freely in the colony of Labuan, where, however, it has not been made a legal tender.

FRANCIS W. PIXLEY.

V.

MONNAIES GRECQUES, INÉDITES ET INCERTAINES.

I.—PHLIUS.

1. Roue, formée par un *triscèle* tournant à droite dans un cercle autour d'un globule central.

Rev.—Carré creux rude divisé en quatre triangles par des barres.

AR 5/4. 8 gr. 11. Mus. de Berlin,¹ Fox ; Imhoof, *Monatsb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1881, p. 671 ; *Annuaire d. l. Soc. Fr. de num.*, 1882, p. 103.—Pl. V, 1.

2. Autre, le triscèle tourne à gauche.

AR 3. 2,00. Cab. de France, Mion. II p. 112, n. 3, *Suppl. VII*, Pl. V, 2 ; Cousinerry, *Voyage en Macéd.* II, p. 125, Pl. IV, 8 ; Beulé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 19, *Rev. Num.* 1856, Pl. XI, 6. Trouvé à Athènes.

3. Même type. Les genoux du triscèle, tournant à gauche, attachés au cercle. Dans le champ Φ.

Rev.—Carré creux divisé par des barres en sept triangles, comme à Egine.

AR 8½/3. 7,21. Ma coll. Trouvé en Attique.—Pl. V, 2.

Un autre exemplaire, trouvé en Arcadie, doit avoir passé, m'a-t-on dit, dans la collection de Hirsch, à Paris.

¹ Je dois une empreinte de ce didrachme, comme de l'obole, n. 7, à l'obligeance de M. de Sallet, Directeur du Musée.

4. Même triscèle, mais tournant à droite ; le cercle ne paraît pas. Dans le champ Π.

Rev.—Carré creux divisé par de larges barres en sept triangles.

R 3½. 7,16¹. Coll. du Dr. H. Weber, à Londres. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 579 (*Phasélis*).—Pl. V, 3.

5. Tortue de mer, comme sur les statères d'Egine.

Rev.—Même triscèle, mais d'assez mauvais style, tournant à droite autour d'un gros *globule*, entouré de feuilles ? Carré creux.

R 5/4. 12,15. Brit. Mus. Head, *l. c.* p. 382 (Egine); *Cat. Br. Mus. Attica*, p. 136, 148, Pl. XXIV, 8.—Pl. V, 4.

Le didrachme, n. 1, et son triobole, n. 2, appartiennent à un groupe bien connu de monnaies archaïques, reconnaissables à leur poids euboïque et leur carré creux rude divisé en quatre triangles et dont le classement est toujours un sujet de controverse entre les numismatistes les plus compétents.

Les uns, comme M. Head,² les distribuent entre les villes d'Eubée, d'autres, comme Beulé,³ les croient frappées en Attique, où on les déterre le plus souvent.⁴

Les trouvailles, faites aux environs d'Érétrie et à Eleusis, décrites par M. Koehler,⁵ démontrent qu'elles circulaient, en Eubée comme en Attique, entremêlées aux monnaies d'Érétrie antérieures à 490 et d'Athènes. Aussi M. Koehler se range-t-il à l'opinion de M. Imhoof,⁶ et incline-

² *Cat. Br. Mus. Centr. Greece*, p. XLVI—LVI, p. 106—187, Pl. XX, XXII, XXIV; *Hist. Num.* p. 301—309.

³ *Monn. d'Ath.* p. 15 suiv.; *Rev. Num.* 1856, p. 347 suiv.

⁴ D'après Prokesch, *Ined.* 1859, p. 7, elles se trouveraient aussi en Macédoine.

⁵ *Mittheil. d. D. Arch. Inst. aus Athen.* 1884, IX p. 854—862.

⁶ “Il se peut que plusieurs de ces monnaies aient été frap-





t-il à y voir les émissions de villes diverses, dont les monnaies circulaient ensemble parcequ'elles étaient du même poids, ainsi que les statères éginétiques de plusieurs îles et villes ont été recueillis entremêlés dans les dépôts de Mélos et de Théra.⁷ J'ajoute qu'il y a des monnaies au même carré creux, divisé en quatre triangles et du même poids euboïque, qui ne sont ni d'Athènes, ni d'Eubée, mais de Potidée,⁸ et de Cyrènes.⁹

Aussi Mionnet a-t-il cru pouvoir séparer le triobole, n. 2, du reste de la trouvaille qu'il décrit T. II, p. 112, n. 2—18, en le classant à Selgé de Pisidie,¹⁰ tandis que M. Head s'est demandé s'il ne serait pas Lygien.¹¹

En effet, une pièce qui ne s'est rencontrée qu'une seule fois, en un seul exemplaire, dans les nombreux dépôts attiques et eubéens, ne peut guère être considérée comme attique ou comme euboïque.

La provenance du didrachme n. 1 est inconnue.

Il ne m'a donc pas semblé téméraire de placer ces deux pièces en tête de ma liste, me fondant sur l'identité de type avec celui des monnaies suivantes, émises, sans doute, par une ville dont le nom commençait par ϕ , et qui n'était, par conséquent, située ni en Eubée, ni en Attique.

Il est vrai que le poids n'est pas le même, mais comme il va en décroissant, le didrachme euboïque de 8 gr.¹¹

pées à Athènes ; mais la plupart proviennent sans doute de l'Eubée et d'autres contrées alliées ou tributaires des Athéniens."¹² *Annuaire d. l. Soc. Fr. de num.* 1882, p. 90, où M. Imhoof donne la liste la plus complète de ce groupe de monnaies.

⁷ Wroth, *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 269—280.

⁸ Cat. Br. Mus. Maced. p. 99 n. 1 ; Head, *Guide*, Pl. IV, 9.

⁹ Müller, *Num. de l'anc. Afr.* I, p. 10 n. 7 ; *Suppl.* p. 1 n. 14^a—14^c.

¹⁰ Mion. *Suppl.* VII, p. 740.

¹¹ Hist. Num. p. 809.

se sera peut-être affaibli à fur et à mesure jusqu'à ce qu'il ne correspondit plus qu'à la moitié du statère éginétique de 12 gr. 15.

Les statères d'Egine paraissent avoir circulé en telle masse en Péloponnèse qu'il leur en est venu le nom de monnaie péloponnésienne.¹² C'est donc dans cette contrée qu'aura été située la ville, qui copie le carré creux et la tortue d'Egine sur les n. 3 et 5, et qui adopte le poids éginétique.

En cherchant une ville, dont le nom commencerait par un *φ*, entre l'île d'Egine, l'Attique, d'où proviennent les n. 2 et 3, et l'Arcadie, où un exemplaire du n. 3 (ou peut-être du n. 4) doit avoir été trouvé, je me suis arrêté à Phlius, à laquelle le type du triscèle convient tout particulièrement.

En effet, comme la Phliasie consiste, pour la plus grande partie, en une vallée de forme triangulaire, entourée de tous côtés par des montagnes,¹³ il serait difficile de s'imaginer un symbole plus approprié à cette vallée triangulaire, telle qu'elle est figurée sur les cartes, que le triscèle des monnaies en question.¹⁴

De plus ce triscèle forme une roue avec le cercle auquel il est attaché et une roue est le type bien connu des monnaies postérieures de Phlius qui sont aussi de poids éginétique.¹⁵

Puis, la légende ne consiste souvent, sur les monnaies

¹² Hésychius, χελώνη, νόμισμα Πελοποννησιακόν. Pollux IX, 74, τὸ Πελοποννησίων νόμισμα χελώνην τινὲς ἡξίουν καλέντι ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάματος.

¹³ Bursian, *Geogr. Griechenl.* II, p. 82.

¹⁴ On sait que, depuis Agathocle, le triscèle symbolise, sur les monnaies, la forme triangulaire de la Sicile.

¹⁵ Cat. Br. Mus. Peloponn. p. 38, n. 1, 2, 6, 7, Pl. VI n. 19, 20, 28.

de date plus récente, comme sur les n. 3 et 4, qu'en un seul ϕ , qui sert même de type au revers.¹⁶

Enfin, on montrait à Phlius, située au pied du mont nommé Tricaranos à cause de ses trois cimes,¹⁷ un omphalos qui était censé marquer le point central du Péloponnèse,¹⁸ et cet omphalos semble indiqué par le globule central très apparent du triscèle, comme M. Head l'a retrouvé au centre de la roue des monnaies postérieures.¹⁹

Tout concourt donc, il me semble, pour rendre l'attribution de cette petite série à la Phliasie, non pas certaine, mais au moins très probable.

Si elle était admise, il s'en suivrait que le Péloponnèse n'est pas aussi pauvre en monnaies archaïques, antérieures aux guerres médiques, qu'on ne l'admet généralement,²⁰ et que, puisqu'il y en a de Corinthe et de Phlius, d'Hérée et de Mantinée, il est permis de croire qu'on en trouvera d'autres villes encore.

M. Koehler²¹ remarque, avec raison, que les monnaies, sur lesquelles le type est entouré d'un cercle, forment un groupe séparé; ce groupe doit son existence, à mon avis, au désir de copier aussi servilement que possible les monnaies à la roue qui sont beaucoup plus abondantes que les autres et qui d'après leur style varié doivent avoir été émises pendant un assez grand nombre d'années consécutives, peut-être à Chalcis, ou bien à Athènes,²² ou même

¹⁶ *Cat. Br. Mus. l. c. n. 2, 3, 8—26, Pl. VI, 21, 22, 24, VII 1—8, 5, 6.*

¹⁷ Bursian, *l. c.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 34; Pausan. II, 13, 7.

¹⁹ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 344.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 343.

²¹ *Mitth. aus Athen.* 1884, IX p. 861.

²² Si les didrachmes, drachmes, etc. à la roue sont de Chalcis, ce dont je doute encore, parceque les monnaies cer-

à Mégare.²³ Si donc le triscèle, faisant roue dans un cercle, est de Phlius, les autres types entourés du cercle, l'astragale, l'amphore, la chouette, le cheval et la partie antérieure et postérieure du même animal²⁴ seraient les types de villes assez voisines de la Phliasie et de l'Attique pour motiver un monnayage aussi uniforme.

Je laisse volontiers à d'autres le soin de combattre ou de poursuivre plus loin cette hypothèse ; il me suffit d'avoir appelé l'attention des numismatistes sur cette question qui ne me semble pas dénuée d'intérêt.

II.—PHENEUS—THALIADAЕ.

6. *Hermès* nu et imberbe, l'œil de face, volant à droite, tenant de la main gauche le caducée et coiffé du pétase. Stylo archaïque.

Rev.—Carré creux divisé par trois barres, qui se croisent, en six triangles. Dans le champ, des traits et un globule, qui ne sont qu'une première esquisse que le graveur corrigea, mais oublia de faire disparaître.

AR 4/3. 8,93. Brit. Mus.—Pl. V, n. 5.
,, 3½. 8,90. Ma coll.

Ces deux exemplaires sont du même coin. Ce sont les trités d'un statère éginétique de 11 gr. 79.

7. Même Hermès, dans la même attitude, l'œil de face, mais les cheveux relevés en chignon, le caducée dans la

taines de la ville semblent prouver que le statère s'y divisait comme à Corinthe en trois drachmes, Athènes, en adoptant le poids euboïque, aurait choisi le type de la tête de Gorgone pour obtenir un type de forme ronde aussi semblable que possible à une roue.

²³ Sur quelques monnaies de Mégare cinq ou trois croissants font la roue en tournant autour d'un point central, dans un cercle. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 829.

²⁴ Un cheval est le type de Cleitor et semble avoir aussi été utilisé à Cléones, Imhoof, *Monn. Grecq.* p. 187 n. 42.

main droite et les pieds chassés de bottines munies de deux ailes. Dans le champ, à gauche, ΙΑΘΟ (Θαλιαδᾶν). Très beau style archaïque.

Rev.—Croix gammée dans un carré crenx.

A 2/1½. 1,01. Mus. de Berlin.—Pl. V, n. 6.

C'est l'obole d'un statère éginétique de 12 gr. 12. Au Musée de Berlin elle est classée à Thaliadae d'Arcadie, nommée par Pausanias parmi les localités situées dans le territoire de Cleitor, sur le Ladon, entre les sources de ce fleuve et la frontière du territoire de Thelpouse.²⁵

Cette attribution est, en effet, très plausible. Il n'y a pas d'autre ville grecque connue, dont le nom commence en *Thali*. Puis, la croix gammée indique une relation avec Corinthe, dont ce symbole est un des types les plus anciens. On le voit, en creux, sur le revers de toute une série de pièces archaïques, depuis le statère jusqu'aux plus petites divisions,²⁶ et, en relief, sur des oboles un peu plus récentes ;²⁷ on le rencontre parmi les types Corinthiens dont Timoléon orna les *revers* de la série qu'il émit à Syracuse ;²⁸ enfin sur des monnaies archaïques de Corcyre,

²⁵ Pausanias VIII, 25, 2 : τῷ δὲ Λάδωνι ἄρχεται μὲν τὸ ὑδωρ ἐν πηγαῖς τῆς Κλαιτορίας—βέν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ Λευκάσιον χωρίον καὶ Μεσόβοα καὶ διὰ τῶν Νάσων ἐπί τε Ὁρυγὰ τε καὶ Ἀλοῦντα ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐξ Ἀλοῦντος δὲ ἐπὶ Θαλιάδας τε καὶ ἐπὶ Δῆμητρος ἵερὸν κάτεισιν Ἐλευσινίας. Τὸ δὲ ἵερὸν τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν Θελπουσίων ἐν ὅροις.—Bursian, *Geogr. Griechenl.* II p. 268, n. 2. D'autres nomment la ville Thaliades.

²⁶ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 385, seconde série, 585—500.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 337, cinquième série, 400—388. Je crois ces oboles plus anciennes.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 157 ; Imhoof, *Monn. Grecq.* p. 81, n. 62, Pl. B, 18. Les monnaies de Syracuse, qui portent un type corinthien sur les deux faces, ne sont pas de Timoléon, mais de Dion, à mon avis.

colonie de Corinthe.²⁹ Il n'est donc pas surprenant de le voir adopté dans une petite ville d'Arcadie, assez voisine de Corinthe pour s'inspirer des types de la cité la plus commerçante du Péloponnèse.

La date de cette jolie obole paraît être indiquée par la coiffure d'Hermès. Au commencement du 5^e siècle les hommes la portaient encore, mais elle passa de mode chez eux bientôt après les guerres médiques. L'attitude d'Hermès différo si peu de la pose du même dieu sur la trité, n. 6, qu'on serait tenté d'assigner celle-ci au même atelier. Mais, comme Thaliadae semble avoir été trop peu importante pour que l'on puisse croire qu'elle ait émis des pièces de poids supérieur, il me semble qu'il vaut mieux songer à Phénéus, ville bien plus considérable, située non loin de Thaliadae, et dont on n'a pas retrouvé jusqu'ici des monnaies antérieures aux guerres médiques, mais qui nous a laissé une série de monnaies plus récentes, remarquables par leurs types et leur exécution artistique.³⁰

Hermès portant le caducée est le type principal des Phénéates,³¹ qui avaient pour lui une vénération toute spéciale ; Θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἐρμῆν Φενεᾶται μάλιστα, dit Pausanias (VIII. 14, 10), et Phénéus était située assez près de Thaliadae pour comprendre comment le type favori des Phénéates ait pu être adopté par la ville arcadienne.

Le carré creux assez particulier du n. 6 me semble con-

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 276 ; *Cat. Br. Mus. Thessaly*, p. 120 n. 94—98, Pl. XXI, 22, et n. 99 ; Postolacca, *Monn. des Iles*, n. 569, Pl. II.

³⁰ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 378 ; *Cat. Br. Mus. Peloponn.* p. 198, 194, Pl. XXXVI, 1—9.

³¹ La pose d'Hermès est fort analogue, eu égard à la différence d'époque et de style, à celle du même dieu sur les statères du 4^e siècle.

firmer l'attribution proposée. D'un côté il présente une grande analogie avec celui du n. 4 des monnaies que je viens de classer à Phlius, de l'autre avec celui des drachmes de Cleitor,³² qui, bien quo plus récentes, ont conservé au revers le creux divisé en triangles par des barres.—Pl. V. 7.

Enfin le flan est mince et plat comme ceux des plus anciennes séries de Corinthe.³³

Donc, Phénéus, située entre Cleitor et Phlius et non loin de Corinthe, remplit exactement les conditions requises pour y placer uno monnaio du typo et de la fabriquo qui caractérisent la trité n. 6.

Reste à expliquer pourquoi Phénéus aurait préféré émettre des trités du statère éginétique plutôt que des hémistatères.

C'est que ces trités correspondent environ à uno drachme euboïque faible. Vers la fin du 6^e siècle, le poids euboïque était encore en usage à Phlius, comme j'ai tâché de le démontrer, et il resta toujours le poids de la monnaie corinthienne. Corinthe elle-même, où le statère se divisait en trois drachmos, fit souvent battre des hémistatères, au type de Bellérophon combattant la chimère, qui ne rentrent pas dans le cadre de ses émissions régulières, uniquement, à ce qu'il paraît, pour avoir des drachmes euboïques, dont le besoin se faisait sentir dans le commerce.

³² *Cat. Br. Mus. l. c.* p. 179, 2, Pl. XXXIII, 9; 2 gr. 93; Imhoof, *Monn. Greec.* p. 187, n. 169; Prokesch, *Ined.* 1859, Pl. II, 38.—Car ce sont des drachmes corinthiennes de poids normal plutôt que des trioboles éginétiques faibles. Le poids euboïque était donc usité à Cleitor.

³³ Head, *l. c.* p. 386.

III. TISSAPIERNE—ORONTE.

8. Tête barbu, les cheveux frisés sur le front, enveloppée de la tiare basse des Perses, nouée sous le menton, à droite.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛέως, lyre. Traces de carré creux.

AR 5. 15,80. Brit. Mus. Mion. *Suppl.* IV, p. 274 n. 22; Luynes, *Satrap.* p. 50, Pl. VI; Waddington, *Rev. Num.* 1861, p. 15, Pl. II, 4; Leake, *Kings*, p. 53; Head, *Coin of Lydia, &c.*, p. 50, Pl. III, 24; Guille, p. 88, Pl. 19, 27; Imhoof, *Portraitk.* p. 22, Pl. III, 1.

9. Tête laurée d'Apollon, les cheveux relevés en chignon, à droite.

Rev.—ΙΑΣΕ—ΩΝ, même lyro. Carré creux.

AR 2. 1,83. Dans le commerce.

1,77. Coll. Imhoof, *Monn. Grecq.* p. 811, n. 64, Pl. F, 7.

10. Même tête, *I—Ασέων*.

Rev.—ΣΥ(Ν)μάχων ou *συμμαχικός στάτηρ*. Hercule enfant agenouillé à droite, étouffant les serpents.

AR 5/4. 10,73. Coll. Imhoof, *L. c.* n. 63, Pl. F, 6.

D'après les types, la légende et le style admirable du n. 8, ce magnifique statère a été émis, vers 400 av. J.-C., par un satrape perse,³⁴ au nom du grand roi et dans une ville grecque d'Asie mineure. Comment se nommait ce satrape et de quelle ville s'agit-il ?

Leake a proposé Colophon, dont les monnaies ont pour type du revers une lyre³⁵ pareille à celle du statère et je me garderais bien de douter de cette attribution très plausible,³⁶ si je pouvais imaginer un motif qui ait pu in-

³⁴ M. Head a montré que la coiffure n'est pas la tiare droite des rois de Perse, mais la tiare basse des satrapes, *Coins of Lydia*, l. c.

³⁵ Κολοφῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν λύραν. Himerius, *Orat.* 21, 8.

³⁶ D'après Thucyd. III, 84, l'acropole de Colophon avait été occupée, en 480, par les Perses, comme l'ont rappelé Leake et M. Waddington.

duire le satrape d'Ionio à placer sa propre image sur la monnaie qu'il faisait battre au nom de son maître dans une ville ionienne.

C'est ce qui m'a fait chercher autre part le mot de l'énigme et je crois l'avoir trouvé en comparant la monnaie d'Iasos, n. 9, récemment publiée par M. Imhoof et qui ne diffère que par la légende des monnaies de Colophon, dont elle est une copie ; la lyre est la même.

Or Iasos a été, pendant quelque temps, en possession d'un satrape, un des plus puissants et des plus célèbres de tous, celui-là même dont le Due de Luynes aurait aimé reconnaître le portrait sur ce statère.

Quand la révolte du satrape de Lydio, Pissuthnès, fils d'Hystaspe, eut été comprimée, son fils Amorgès continua l'insurrection en Carie, avec l'aide des Athéniens. Tissapherne, auquel la satrapie de Pissuthnès avait été confiée par son roi, mais qui résidait habituellement en Carie, où son palais était situé,³⁷ ne paraît pas avoir disposé de forces suffisantes pour combattre en personne les mercenaires grecs dont Amorgès s'était entouré. Il profita du voisinage de la flotte Lacédémonienne, qui était venu en aide aux Milésiens contre les Athéniens, pour mettre fin à la révolte. Les navires péloponnésiens parurent inopinément devant Iasos, où Amorgès s'était retranché, s'emparèrent sans résistance de la ville, la pillèrent, vendirent les prisonniers au satrape et le laissèrent maître absolu de la ville et de ses habitants.³⁸ C'était en 412.

Le beau statère, n. 10, de poids bétien, et au type bétien d'Hercule enfant étouffant les serpents, date de 394 ; le revers ne montre plus de traces du carré creux.³⁹

³⁷ Xénophon, *Hell.* III, 2, 12; 4, 12.

³⁸ Thucydide, VIII, 28; Hicks, *Iasos, Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* VIII, 1887, p. 86, 87.

³⁹ Iasos n'a pas été dévastée en 405 par Lysandre, comme le

Le triobole, n. 9, dont la tête est la même, mais sur lequel le carré creux est encoré très apparent, a donc été émis quelques années auparavant, avant 400 peut-être.

A en juger par ce triobole, Iasos paraît s'être relevé assez promptement du désastre qui venait de l'atteindre. Il n'y aurait pas lieu de s'en étonner. Tissapherne, dès qu'il y fut le maître, se sera empressé de réparer de son mieux les maux causés par l'invasion lacédémone. Thucydide nous dit qu'il y mit une garnison. Il importait de ne pas ruiner une cité prospère qui avait payé un tribut annuel d'abord d'un talent et plus tard de trois talents à la symmachie athénienne et qui pourrait en contribuer autant au grand roi.

C'est bien alors et jusqu'à ce qu'il fut remplacé, en 408,⁴⁰ par Cyrus le jeune,⁴¹ que Tissapherne a pu battre monnaie au nom du roi de Perse, à sa propre image et au type de la ville, dont il était devenu seigneur et maître en en prenant possession au nom de son souverain.⁴²

A moins donc que le satrape n'ait copié la lyre de Colophon pour assurer un meilleur cours à ses statères, je proposerais de dater les trioboles autonomes d'Iasos,

disent quelques éditions de Diodore, XIII, 104. Les MSS. ne portent pas Ἰασόν, mais Θάσον, ce qui me semble à corriger en Θάσος. Les Θασαρῆς sont mentionnés parmi les peuplades cariennes dans les listes des tributaires, *Corp. inscr. Att.* I, n. 229, 231, 239.

⁴⁰ Krumbholz, *de Asiae min. Satrap. persic.* p. 41.

⁴¹ L'opinion de Ch. Lenormant, *Annales de l'Instit. Archéol.* T. XIX, p. 380 suiv., qui proposait de voir dans la tête de satrape, n. 8, le portrait de Cyrus le jeune, a été refutée par M. Waddington, *l. c.* p. 18.

⁴² Les portraits de dynastes et de satrapes, fréquents sous le règne du faible Artaxerxès II, ne se voyent plus sous son énergique successeur. Ochus ne sembla pas avoir toléré ces signes d'indépendance relative. Nous avons, par contre, sur le bronze, la tête du roi lui-même—Head, *Coins of Lydia*, Pl. III, 9.

n. 9, d'un peu avant la défaite d'Amorgès. Quelques-unes peuvent avoir été émises pendant la révolte, aux frais ou par ordre d'Amorgès, pour la solde des nombreux mercenaires qu'il avait enrôlés. L'idée de copier la monnaie de Colophon convient encore mieux à ce fils révolté de Pissuthnès qu'au puissant satrape.

Si mon attribution était acceptée l'ingénieuse hypothèse du Duc de Luynes serait devenue certitude et nous serions en possession d'un admirable portrait du célèbre Tissapherne, le plus beau, sans doute, de tous ceux que nous offre la numismatique grecque du 5^e et du 4^e siècle.

Serait-ce le seul qui nous reste de ce satrape ?

M. Waddington a cru reconnaître la même tête sur un statère d'or de Lampsaque, dont le seul exemplaire connu est conservé dans le Musée Hunter à Glasgow⁴³ et sur les monnaies suivantes.

11. Tête semblable à celle du n. 1.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ**, le roi de Perse, la tiare droite, crénelée, en tête, courant à droite, tenant de la main droite la hache et de la gauche l'arc. Dans le champ, à gauche, un navire à la rame. Carré croix.

AR 5. 14,92. Mus. de Berlin. Fox, *Un. Gr. Coins*, II, p. 81, Pl. VIII, 164 ; Waddington, *l. c.* p. 16, Pl. II, 5 ; K. Münzk. Berlin, 1877, n. 812 ; Head, *Coins of Lydia*, p. 50, Pl. III, 25.

12. Même tête.

Rev.—**ΒΑΣΙ**, même type, sans navire. Carré croix.

AR 3. 3,42. Brit. Mus. Head, *l. c.* n. 26.

En effet, la tête de satrape de ces deux dernières monnaies est assez semblable à celle du statère, n. 8, pour

⁴³ *Mus. Hunter*, p. 165, 1, T. 31, 22; *Rev. Num.* 1861, p. 16, Pl. II, 6.

admettre que la légère différence entre les deux profils ne provient que de ce que ces deux pièces, dont les revers sont d'un style bien mauvais, ont été exécutées par un graveur très médiocre, tandis que le statère à la lyre est l'œuvre d'un artiste grec de premier ordre.

Il est donc fort probable qu'elles ont été frappées par ordre de Tissapherne, peut-être en Carie,—comme l'a proposé M. Waddington,—où il résidait habituellement. Mais, comme le navire à la rame, dans le champ du n. 11, ne ressemble pas à un vaisseau grec, mais, par contre, très exactement à un de ces navires qui forment le type du droit des monnaies phéniciennes,⁴⁴ et que le roi de Perse avait placé la flotte phénicienne sous les ordres de Tissapherne,⁴⁵ je voudrais assigner cette émission à l'an 411, quand le satrape se rendit à Aspendos, où l'attendait une flotte de 147 vaisseaux de guerre phéniciens.⁴⁶ Cette flotte resta inactive et ne vint en aide ni à Sparte ni à Athènes, mais Tissapherne aura dû pourvoir à son entretien et il peut avoir eu ses raisons pour payer la solde en monnaies à sa tête et au nom comme à l'effigie du grand roi. C'est l'explication la plus plausible de cette émission remarquable qui me soit venue à l'esprit.

Le statère d'or de Lampsaque du Musée Hunter est de beaucoup plus récent.

Lorsqu'on range les statères de Lampsaque⁴⁷ du même

⁴⁴ Head, *Coins of Lydia*, Pl. II.

⁴⁵ Krumbholz, *l. c.* p. 40; Thucyd. VIII, 46, 81, &c.

⁴⁶ Thucyd. VIII, 87.

⁴⁷ La plupart de ces statères ont été décrits par M. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 457. J'ai ajouté à sa liste les n. 6, 9, 11. Le n. 7 n'est pas Déméter voilée, comme dit M. Head, mais Apollon.

genre en ordre chronologique d'après le style du demi-cheval ailé, qui forme le type du revers, on s'aperçoit bientôt que les pièces les plus anciennes sont celles qui portent: 1, Hercule enfant étouffant les serpents, typé bétien adopté par les villes confédérées en 394, et, 2, Hellé monté sur le bétier. Le demi-cheval est tourné à droite, le carré creux très apparent. Sur les statères suivants le cheval ailé est tourné à gauche et le carré creux disparaît de plus en plus. Les types sont: 3, Thétis sur un dauphin portant les armes d'Achille; 4, Niké sacrifiant un bétier; 5, tête d'Hélios sur son disque radié; 6, tête jeune de femme (Niké?); 7, tête d'Apollon; 8, tête voilée, couronné de fleurs de grenade? 9, tête couronnée de lierre, avec boucles d'oreille; 10, tête de satrape; 11, tête de Pallas; 12, Niké érigéant un trophée; 13, Gaia tenant des épis, ἄγαλμα Γῆς ἵκετενούσης ὅσαι οἱ τὸν Δία, Pausan. I, 24, 3;⁴⁸ 14, tête barbue portant un casque lauré et pointu; 15, tête de Zeus; 16, tête laurée de Niké ailée; 17, tête de Ménade couronnée de lierre avec boucles d'oreilles et collier et diadème royal (la reine-mère Olympias);⁴⁹ 18, tête couronnée de lierre, avec boucles d'oreilles et collier, les oreilles de chèvre; 19, tête d'Ammon-de face; 20, tête imberbe, qui ressemble cello d'Achille, l'ancêtre d'Alexandre le grand, avec le profil du jeune roi lui-même.

Ces derniers statères, 17, 19, 20, nous mènent à l'an 331, quand Alexandre visita l'oracle d'Ammon et fut déclaré fils de ce dieu égyptien et à l'an 334, quand

⁴⁸ Drexler, en Roscher's *Lexik. d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythol.* I, p. 1577, 1581.

⁴⁹ Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellen.* I, 1, p. 90, "In den nächtlichen Orgien sah man sie vor Allen—in wilder Begeisterung—durch die Bergo stürmen." Plutarque, *Alex.* c. 2.

Lampsaque fut épargnée par Alexandre, à la requête d'Anaximène.⁵⁰ La ville avait donc une raison toute spéciale de rendre hommage au jeune roi, en plaçant sur ces statères la tête de sa mère Olympias, divinisée en Ménade, celle de son père Ammon, et la sienne propre, idéalisée en Achille, dont il se disait descendre.

Ces vingt statères dateraient donc de 394 à 330 environ et la tête de satrape, n. 10, se placerait au-milieu de cette période, vers 360. Or, en 362, en 352 et en 348 les textes et les inscriptions mentionnent un satrape du nom d'Orontas, qui d'abord se révolta contre Artaxerxès, avec lequel il se reconcilia plus tard et qui paraît s'être maintenu assez longtemps en Mysie, aux environs de Pergame, et y avoir installé une petite dynastie indépendante.⁵¹

Les monnaies d'Oronte, en argent et en bronze, ont pour revers un demi-cheval ailé, tout-à-fait pareil à celui du statère d'or. De plus les bronzes du plus petit module offrent au droit la même tête de satrape et, d'après mon exemplaire, avec le même profil.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 188.

⁵¹ Waddington, *Rev. Num.*, 1863, p. 286 suiv.; Krumbholz, l. c. p. 75, n. 2; Diodore, XV, 91 (362) Οἱ δ' ἀφεστηκότες τοῦ βασιλέως—εἴλοντο στρατηγὸν Ὁρόντην. Οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ χρήματα πρὸς ξενοδογίαν, δισμυρίοις στρατιώταις ἐμπλότοις μισθὸν, ἔγενετο προδότης τῶν πιστευσάντων. Ὑπολαβὼν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δωρεῶν τε μεγάλων τεύχεσθαι καὶ τῆς παραδιδούσης πάσης παραλήψεως τὴν στρατίαν, etc. Inscr. de Pergame, *Die Ergebn. d. Ausgrab. zu Pergamon*, 1883—1886, p. 56: Ὁρόντης δὲ Ἀρταξύ(ρου, τὸ γένος Βάκτριος, ἀποστὰς ἀπὸ Ἀρταξέρ(ξου τοῦ Περ)σῶν βασιλέως ἐκράτησεν τῶν Περγάμην, etc.—Εἶτα Ὁρόντης (τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτρέψας Ἀρταξέρ(ξη) ἀπέθανεν. Polyèn VII, 14, 2, 8, 4: Ὁρόντης ἐν Κύμῃ παρετάχετο Αὐτοφράδατη—αὐτὸς ἔχων μυρίους ὄπλιτας Ἐλληνας.

⁵² Imhoof, *Momn. Grecy*, p. 246, 247, n. 89, 95—95^c.

Pourquoi donc ne reconnaîtrions nous pas la tête d'Oronte sur le statère de Lampsaque? Même en admettant que cette ville n'ait pas été en son pouvoir et que la plupart de ses monnaies aient été frappées à Adramytion, comme le propose M. Imhoof,⁵³ il n'y a rien qui s'oppose, à mon avis, à croire, avec M. Krumbholz,⁵⁴ que le dynaste ait fait exécuter, à ses frais, dans l'atelier de Lampsaque, les statères d'or dont il avait besoin pour la solde de ses troupes, d'autant plus que les dariques royales ont dû lui faire défaut, tant que dura son insurrection.

Reste à expliquer comment il se fait que le profil d'Oronte ressemble tant à celui de Tissapherne que M. Waddington ait cru voir dans les deux portraits un seul et même personnage.

Ce n'est pas—si j'ai bien compris M. Imhoof,⁵⁵—parce que les graveurs de ce temps avaient une tête de barbare idéale, dont ils se servaient en Mysie comme en Carie, en Lycie comme en Cilicie, quand il s'agissait de représenter un dynaste indigène ou un noble Perse, mais plutôt, il me semble, parce qu'Oronte, comme Tissapherne, étaient issus des familles les plus nobles, toutes plus ou moins apparentées avec les Achéménides et qu'ils avaient par là un air de famille, qui doit avoir rendu difficile aux Grecs de les distinguer à première vue et qui nous oblige parfois à y regarder de bien près pour ne pas les confondre.

Pourtant je ne crois pas me tromper en séparant le

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 245—248.

⁵⁴ *I. c.* p. 75 n. 2. Nummi autem illi Lampsaceni nihil probant, cum satrapa, qui defecarat et exercitu praeerat, facile in alius satrapis urbe nummos facere posset.

⁵⁵ *Portraitk.* p. 4, 22.—Je ne vois aucune ressemblance entre le portrait de Tissapherne et celui de Pharnabaze, *ib.* T. III, 1, 2.

statère d'Oronte, qui date, comme les pièces en argent et en bronze à son nom, du milieu du 4^e siècle, d'avec les émissions en argent de Tissapherne, qui me paraissent être d'un demi-siècle au moins plus anciennes. D'autant plus que la coiffure est essentiellement différente. Les satrapes fidèles au grand roi, Pharnabaze, Tissapherne, nouent la tiare autour du menton, selon l'étiquette perse. Chez les dynastes—and les satrapes révoltés?—les bouts de la coiffure pendent librement le long du cou. Aussi le dynaste de Cilicie, Taremos, ne se couvre le menton, si j'ai bien vu, que depuis qu'il est investi de la dignité de satrape perse.⁵⁶

Enfin, c'est encore la tête d'Oronte que je voudrais reconnaître sur une hecté de 2 gr. 50 de ma collection,⁵⁷ qui d'après le style et le carré creux me semble avoir été frappée dans l'atelier de Phocée, quoique le petit phoque usuel ne paraisse pas, peut-être parce que ce n'est pas une monnaie autonome de la ville.

IV.—Issos.

13. Partie antérieure de lion, la gueule béante, à gauche; la patte gauche est seule exprimée.

Rev.—Carré creux, à fond brut et inégal, divisé en deux triangles par une large barre.

⁵⁶ Imhoof, *Portraitk.* T. III, 3—5.—La monnaie de Spithridate, que M. Wroth vient de publier plus haut, p. 17, Pl. I, 14, est venue à ma connaissance trop tard pour m'en servir dans cet article. Elle paraît postérieure aux émissions d'Oronte et frappée dans la même localité, Adramytion, ou peut-être Iolla, dont Spithridate aurait été dynaste, en même temps ou avant qu'il était satrape d'Ionie et de Lydie vers 384.

⁵⁷ Incorrectement gravée *Zeitschr. f. Num.* VI, 1879, p. 98, Pl. III, 42.

R 4½/4. 10,68. Brit. Mus., Cat. Whittall, 1884, n. 1070,
Greenwell, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 10, Pl. I, 10, 1;
Gardner, *ibid.* 1886, p. 259, n. 1.

14. Autre, la barre moins large, et le fond divisé en losanges par des lignes qui se croisent.

R 6/5. 10,82. Cab. de Munich.—Pl. V, 8.
„ 4½. 10,24. Brit. Mus., Greenwell, *l. c.* p. 10, 2, Pl. I,
11.

Ces deux exemplaires sont de coin différent.

15. Type du n. 13 et de même style, mais les deux pattes du lion sont exprimées.

Rev.—Homme barbu, vêtu d'un chiton court, retenu par une ceinture, debout, à droite, et perçant d'une longue lance un lion dressé devant lui. En haut et en bas
 Ι Λ Σ Σ. Le tout dans un carré creux profond.
 Au milieu du champ, Ρ dans une contremarque ronde. Sur le bord du statère, Ο dans une contremarque oblongue.

R 6/4. 10,60. Ma coll.—Pl. V, 9.

La dernière lettre de la légende ΙΛΣΣΑΙΟΝ est à peine visible; pourtant il semble que ce soit un Ν plutôt qu'un Σ.

Les statères, n. 13 et 14, ont été classés à Cnidos dans le catalogue Whittall et par M. Greenwell qui les publia le premier; mais cette attribution n'a pas paru satisfaisante à M. Gardner, *l. c.*, ni à M. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 523, n. 1.

En effet, quoique le type convienne à Cnidos, où un lion fort semblable, mais presque toujours tourné à droite, se voit sur la plupart des monnaies archaïques de la ville, le poids est fort au-dessous de celui d'environ 12 gr., usité à Cnide et à Chersonèse,⁵⁸ et le carré creux diffère

⁵⁸ *Chersonesos*. 12 gr. 59, Cab. de France, Mion. VI, p. 680 n. 128, *Rec. Pl. L*, 5;—12 gr. 57, Mus. de Berlin, *Beschreib. d.*

entièvement, comme M. Greenwell l'a remarqué lui-même, de ceux qu'on rencontre sur les monnaies cariennes.

Par contre, le poids de 10 gr. 82 répond exactement à celui des statères ciliciens⁵⁹ et le lion, quoiqu'il soit peut-être copié d'après les monnaies cnidiennes, est tellement semblable au même animal représenté sur le statère inédit d'Issos, décrit sous le n. 15, qu'il n'est pas nécessaire, ce me semble, de chercher d'autres arguments, pour proposer Issos de Cilicie au lieu de Cnidos de Carie comme lieu d'émission de ces rares statères anépigraphes.

Le singulier carré creux, tout couvert de losanges qui rappellent l'écusson de Bavière, se comprend mieux aussi au fin fond de la Cilicie qu'en Carie où il n'a pas d'analogie.

Le statère, n. 15, est le premier qui nous donne l'éthnique d'Issos, tel que l'indique Etienne de Byzance : 'Ισσός, πόλις μεταξὺ Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας⁶⁰—ό πολίτης 'Ισσαιος, et par conséquent la première monnaie autonome certaine de la ville. Toutes celles qui ont été publiées jusqu'ici ont pour légende ΙΣΣΙΚΟΝ⁶¹ en signe qu'elles

antik. Münz. I, 1888, p. 249, 1 ; Prokesch, *Ined.* 1859, p. 5 ;—11 gr. 88, Brit. Mus., Head, *Guide*, p. 6, n. 26.—*Cnidos* : 11 gr. 70, Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* p. 809, n. 44.—Les hémi-statères montent jusqu'à 6 gr. 34, Imhoof, *l. c.* p. 808, n. 86. D'un autre côté, le poids de 10 gr. 82 est trop élevé pour convenir à la Lycie à laquelle M. Gardner a pensé.

⁵⁹ *Célesteris*, 10 gr. 84.—*Nagidos*, 10 gr. 78.—*Soli*, 10 gr. 88. Brandis, p. 498, 499.

⁶⁰ Xenophon, *Anabas*. I, iv. 1. «ις 'Ισσούς τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν, ἵππη θαλάττην οἰκουμένην μεγάλην καὶ εὐδάίμονα. Du temps d'Hérodote (V, 52), la Cilicie s'étendait, du côté de l'Arménie jusqu'à l'Euphrate et (III, 92) au sud jusqu'à Poseidion, et par conséquent bien au-delà d'Issos.

⁶¹ Sur le statère, à types communs à au moins quatre villes ciliciennes, décrit par M. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 604, ΙΣ peut être complété en ΙΣΣΙΚΟΝ tout aussi bien qu'en ΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ. —Pl. V, n. 10.

furent émises à Issos sous l'autorité d'un dynaste ou d'un des satrapes commandant l'armée perse et non, comme le n. 15, par les citoyens d'une ville libre, en vertude leur droit de battre monnaie.⁶² Elles sont d'un siècle postérieures à celles-ci, qui, malgré leur aspect fort archaïque, ne me semblent pourtant pas aussi anciennes qu'elles en ont l'air au premier abord.

Le carré creux est trop orné pour être de beaucoup antérieur au 5^e siècle. Le n. 15 porte une légende grecque et convient le mieux à l'époque où Xerxès confia à un grec, Xénagoras d'Halicarnasse, le gouvernement de la Cilicie,⁶³ où, après la bataille de l'Eurymédon, la symmachie athénienne avait acquis sa plus grande extension, et où la flotte d'Athènes, sous Cimon, venait en aide au roi d'Egypte, assiégeait les villes de Cypré et battait les navires phéniciens et ciliciens que lui opposaient les Perses. C'est donc dans la première moitié du 5^e siècle que je voudrais placer cette petite série.

Elle ne consiste encore qu'en statères. Les divisions apparaîtront, sans doute, dès qu'on aura recherché parmi les pièces incertaines, au type d'un lion, qui se trouvent dans toutes les collections, celles que le stylo et le poids permettront de classer à Issos.

Le type, au revers du n. 15, n'est pas difficile à reconnaître. C'est un chasseur qui tue un lion d'un coup de lance. On voit un chasseur pareil, vêtu de même, accompagner le roi qui chasse les lions, monté sur un char, sur le bas-relief, trouvé à Saktchégheuksou, non loin d'Issos,

⁶² C'est M. Waddington qui a déterminé le sens de ces différentes formes des légendes ciliciennes. *Rev. Num.* 1856, p. 60.

⁶³ Hérodote, IX, 107.

décris et figuré dans Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, IV. p. 534, 553—555, vign. n. 279.

Ce n'est donc pas un roi⁶⁴ ou dynaste, qui d'ailleurs est représenté tout différemment tant sur le bas-relief que sur les monnaies de Tarse et sur celles que j'ai proposé de classer à Sidon. Là, le roi, reconnaissable à son costume et à sa tiare, perce le lion, debout devant lui, de son glaive.⁶⁵ Ce n'est pas non plus, comme à Tarse,⁶⁶ Hercule qui étouffe le lion de ses bras, ou qui l'assomme de sa massue et qui, comme d'autres divinités orientales, par sa force surhumaine, se joue des bêtes fauves et les enlève en les tenant suspendues par la queue.

Pourtant ce ne doit pas être un chasseur ordinaire, mais plutôt le héros phénicien, éponyme des chasseurs, qui est mentionné dans les extraits de Sanchoniathon, traduit par Philon de Byblos, que nous à conservés Eusèbe, *Praep. Evang.* I. 10 : Χρόνοις δὲ ὑστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψουρανίου γενέας γενέσθαι Ἀγρέω καὶ Ἀλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἀλιέας εὐρετὰς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἀλιεῖς. C'est cet Agreus, en phénicien ṣid, Sad ou Sid, à ce qu'il paraît,⁶⁷ l'inventeur de la chasse, que je crois

⁶⁴ A moins que le sujet ne soit emprunté à un tableau pareil à celui qui se voyait, formé de briques émaillées, sur le mur de l'enceinte intérieure du palais royal à Babylone. Il représentait une grande chasse de toutes sortes d'animaux. Sémiramis, à cheval, lançait un javelot contre une panthère, et Ninos, à pied, perçait un lion de sa lance, Νίνος πάλων ἐκ χειρὸς λέοντα λόγχῃ. Diodore, II, 8, d'après Ctesias.—Le même chasseur se retrouve sur un petit objet en or et sur un des poignards provenants des fouilles de Mycènes. Schliemann, *Mykenae*, p. 202, Fig. n. 253 ; L. Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpt.* 1883, p. 155, Fig. 60 ; Perrot, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* X, 1886, p. 841 suiv. Pl. II, 8.

⁶⁵ Head, *Coins of Lydia and Persia*, Pl. II, 7, 10, 17, III, 4, 6, 11, 12 ; *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 202, 2 ; 1884, p. 153, 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 152, 2, 3 ; Pl. V, 1, p. 156, 15.

⁶⁷ Vogüe, *Mél. d'arch. Orient.* Suppl. p. 38 : "Les commen-

représenté sur le statère, de préférence à Ousoos qui, d'après Sanchoniathon, inventa de se vêtir de la peau des animaux sauvages dont il parvenait à s'emparer et dont le sang lui servait de libation aux stèles qu'il avait érigées et devant lesquelles il se prosternait. Οὐσοον, ὅς σκέπην τῷ σώματι πρῶτος ἐκ δερμάτων ὃν ἴσχυσε συλλαβὼν Θηρίων εὑρε—ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ—στήλας—καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ἄμα δὲ σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὃν ἥγρευε Θηρίων. Car ces animaux, offerts en sacrifice, n'étaient probablement pas des lions, mais des bêtes moins féroces et plus faciles à saisir dans des pièges ou des fosses, tandis qu'une chasse plus importante et plus périlleuse est représentée sur le statère d'Issos.

Quoique cette ville n'était pas située en Phénicie même, elle n'en était pas fort éloignée et la ville voisine, Myriandos, était habitée par des Phéniciens.⁶⁸ On peut donc bien admettre que les divinités et les héros qu'on vénérait à Issos, ne différaient guère de ceux que Sanchoniathon attribue aux Phéniciens.⁶⁹

tateurs de Sanchoniathon ont remarqué que le mot 'Αλίευς était la traduction de צַדְקָה (Hébr.), dieu éponyme de la ville de Sidon, dont le nom signifie pécheur, pêche. 'Αρρέας, traduction de צַדֵּק, chasseur, paraissait un pléonasme; nos inscriptions prouvent que le texte original portait bien la mention de deux personnages divins distincts, l'un du nom de צַדֵּק, *Tsid*, l'autre du nom de צַדְקָה, *Tsidon*.—Le nom du dieu צַדֵּק entre dans la composition de plusieurs noms propres puniques, חֲנַצֵּר, צַדְקָה, צַדְקָה נְבָצֵד, צַדְקָה עֲבֹדֶת, *Corp. inscr. semit.* I, n. 102a, 185, 184, 235, 802, etc.; voir la note au n. 102a, p. 123: "Quinam autem sit ille deus (צדֵק, Sad), incertum. Renan 'Αρρέα καὶ 'Αλίεα illos a Philone Bybliensi memoratos Phœnicio sermone צַדְקָה וְצַדְקָה, huc referendos putat. Habes quoque in fragmentis Sanchoniathonis Σάδιδων."

⁶⁸ Xénoph. *Anab.* I, iv. 6: *αἱ Μυριανδρον πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ Σαλάτῃ, ἐμπόριον δ' ἡν τὸ χωρίον.* Scylax, c. 102: Μυριανδος Φοινίκων.

⁶⁹ Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* p. 360, à propos des divinités ailées sur les monnaies de Mallos.

Le type du chasseur de lions se retrouve, mais traité dans un style beaucoup plus récent, sur une petite monnaie dont je me suis déjà occupé plus d'une fois, mais sans pouvoir en déterminer le lieu d'émission.

16. Tête barbue à droite. Devant ω (ω). Peut-être le portrait d'un dynaste.

Rev.—Personnage nu, s'avancant à droite, vers un lion dressé devant lui, qu'il perce de sa lance. Dessous
2-ω { ω-ω }.

AR 1. 0,52. Coll. Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* p. 448, n. 52,
Choix, Pl. VII, 280; *Num. Chron.* 1877, p. 211, 7,
1878, p. 123, 1, Pl. VI, 7.

Si cette obole est d'Issos, comme le type le fait supposer, les lettres ω et ω pourraient être considérées comme les initiales du nom d'un dynaste, car le nom de la ville paraît avoir été Ισσος, σισσος, Ssisso. C'est du moins ce que je crois voir sur le statère publié par M. Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* p. 355, n. 24^a, Pl. F, 21. Les Grecs, chez qui un nom ne pouvait commencer par un double S, en auront fait Issos, pour Issisos, comme les LXX ont rendu γισσος, 2 Chr. 20, 16, par Ἀσσεῖς.

Cette obole, qui ne porte plus de traces d'un carré creux, date sans doute du quatrième siècle, comme les autres monnaies d'Issos, publiées jusqu'ici, que M. Head a énumérées.⁷⁰ Leur poids, 10 gr. 70 et 10 gr. 82, reste toujours celui des anciens statères et confirme ainsi l'attribution proposée pour les n. 13 et 14.

Issos ne paraît plus avoir battu monnaie depuis la

⁷⁰ *Hist. Num.* p. 604, où il faut lire 165 et 167 au lieu de 166 et 168—164 gr. Voir aussi Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.* p. 355 n. 24, 24a, et Von Sallet, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* IV. p. 145, 10 gr. 40, fruste.

fondation de Nicopolis⁷¹ par Alexandre en mémoire de la victoire qu'il remporta près d'Issos sur Darius. Aussi le nom d'Issos ne paraît plus sur les monnaies que dans la légende ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤ ΙΚΚΟΝ d'une suite de bronzes de l'époque impériale.⁷²

V.—CYPRE.

17. Figure nue,⁷³ sans indication de sexe masculin, munie d'ailes aux talons et de grandes ailes recoquillées aux épaules, marchant à droito, la main gauche étendue. Style archaïque.

Rev.—Taureau debout à droite ; au-dessus Λ. Le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles.

AR 5/3. 11,60. Ma coll.—Pl. V, n. 11.

Il est dommage que la tête et le bras droit de la déesse ne soient pas venus à la frappe et qu'il soit incertain, par conséquent, si la tête était en profil ou de face et si le bras droit était baissé ou étendu.

Pourtant il est vraisemblable que le bras manquant était dans la même position que l'autre, si on compare une figure très ressemblante qui se voit sur un Cyzicène environ contemporain⁷⁴ et qui pourrait bien être imitée de celle-ci, suivant la coutume à Cyzique de copier les types monétaires, même des villes les plus éloignées, avec l'addition, s'entend, d'un ou de deux thons, le vrai type de Cyzique. Malheureusement cette figure est trop peu distincte pour pouvoir servir à expliquer celle-ci.

⁷¹ Steph. Byz., v. 'Ισσός, identifie Nicopolis avec Issos.

⁷² Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 598.

⁷³ Une ligne à travers la poitrine, qu'on pourrait prendre pour une ceinture, ne provient que d'une cassure du coin, dont les traces se laissent poursuivre le long du bras jusqu'au bout des doigts.

⁷⁴ Greenwell, *Num. Chron.* 1887, Pl. III, 10.

Aussi je laisse volontiers à d'autres le soin de chercher un nom à donner à cette déesse que ses sandales ailées semblent caractériser comme un messager des dieux et je me borne à noter qu'une déesse ailée et nue, mais dans une pose toute différente, se voit sur un bas-relief découvert à Djerabulus⁷⁵ et que, d'après Sanchoniathon,⁷⁶ tous les dieux phéniciens étaient munis d'ailes pour pouvoir suivre le dieu suprême, Cronos, dans son vol à travers l'espace.

Ce qui me paraît le plus remarquable c'est que la déesse cypriote, malgré ses ailes levées et ses bras étendus, ne semble pas bouger de place. C'est environ la pose de la Niké sur un très ancien tétradrachme de Syracuse,⁷⁷ qui date comme le statère cypriote du commencement du 5^e siècle. Evidemment le graveur n'avait pas encore appris des sculpteurs de Chios, Micciadès et Archermos, l'art de représenter une figure volante⁷⁸ et se bornait, suivant les traditions de l'art oriental, à indiquer par le nombre des ailes, la plus ou moins grande vitesse de la course des divinités.

Le caractère cypriote Λ, κο ou γο, concourt avec le poids pour faire classer ce statère archaïque à une des villes de Cypre. Le même signe se lit au-dessus d'un taureau cornupète sur des statères plus récents,⁷⁹ et sur des monnaies en or d'Evagoras I de Salamine.⁸⁰ Il est donc peu probable que cet Λ soit l'initiale d'un nom de roi ; c'est plutôt le nom d'une ville, que ce soit Golgoi, Coroné ou une autre.

⁷⁵ Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art*, IV, p. 808, Fig. 890.

⁷⁶ Sanchon. p. 38, Orelli. Τοῦς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοὺς δύο ἐκάστω πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμουν, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνίπταντο τῷ Κρόνῳ.

⁷⁷ Head, *Guide*, Pl. 9, 85.

⁷⁸ Petersen, *Mith. d. D. Arch. Inst. aus Athen*. 1886, p. 386.

⁷⁹ Rev. Num. 1883, p. 305, n. 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 280.

VI.—BAALRAM, ROI DE CITION.

Plusieurs inscriptions et quelques monnaies, récemment découvertes, sont venues éclaircir quelque peu l'histoire encore bien obscure des rois phéniciens de Cition et me permettent de rectifier, sur plusieurs points, le classement proposé dans la *Revue Numismatique* de 1883,⁸¹ pour les monnaies antérieures au roi Pumiaton.

La première inscription, copiée en Mars 1887 par M. Onefalsch Richter à Dali, a été publiée, plus ou moins complètement, par M. Ph. Berger,⁸² M. Piéridès,⁸³ et par M. J. Euting.⁸⁴ Il y est dit qu'en l'an III de son règne, Baal(mélek), roi de Cition et d'Idalie, fils du roi Azbaal, roi de Cition et d'Idalie, fils du roi Baalmélek, roi de Cition, offrit un objet en cuivre repoussé (une vasque) à la déesse Anath.

La seconde moitié du nom de l'auteur de la dédicace est très indistincte sur la pierre. M. Berger a restitué Baal-mélek, בָּעַל-מֶלֶךְ, MM. Richter,⁸⁵ Piéridès et Euting ont préféré Baalram, בָּעַל-רָם. Mais M. Euting a bien voulu m'informer qu'un nouvel examen a conduit MM. Richter et Piéridès à reconnaître que la leçon בָּרָם, ram, ne concorde pas avec ce qui reste des lettres et que lui-même préfère en ce moment Baalmélek.⁸⁶

L'examen attentif des monnaies royales de Cition m'a conduit à la même conclusion.

⁸¹ *Revue Numism.* 1883, p. 824—837, n. 6—49.

⁸² *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, 1887, p. 208—210. (Tirage à part: *Mém. s. deux nouv. inscr. phénic. de Chypre*, p. 15—22.)

⁸³ *Academy*, 28 Apr. et 7 Mai, 1887, p. 293 et 329.

⁸⁴ *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 420—422.

⁸⁵ *Comptes-rendus*, l. c. p. 205, n. 1.

⁸⁶ Voir maintenant Berger, *Mémoire cité*, p. 30.

Celles qui portent le nom de Baalmélek se divisent en deux groupes distincts. Le premier est formé par les pièces, de style archaïque, qui ont au revers un *lion accroupi*,⁸⁷ et ne peut étre attribué qu'au premier Baalmélek, père du roi Azbaal.

Le second groupe consiste en monnaies, au revers d'un *daim attaqué par un lion*,⁸⁸ de style plus récent, dont la plupart ressemblent tellement aux monnaies d'Azbaal, aux mêmes types,⁸⁹ qu'on les dirait contemporaines et gravées par les mêmes artistes et qu'il ne paraît pas, au premier abord, si elles sont antérieures ou postérieures⁹⁰ à son règne et si, par conséquent, il faut les assigner à son père Baalmélek ou à un fils d'Azbaal qui aurait porté le nom de son grand-père.

La seule différence que j'ai pu constater c'est que, sur quelques pièces—non sur toutes, comme la planche du Duc de Luynes⁹¹ pourrait le faire supposer—les lettres *y* et *n* sont ouvertes par en haut, détail qui ne se voit ni sous Azbaal, ni sur les monnaies de Baalram dont il sera question tantôt, mais qui semble étre l'indice d'une époque assez récente.

Il est aussi plus rationnel d'admettre que le changement de type ait eu lieu au commencement du règne d'Azbaal après la conquête d'Idalie, que pendant le règne de son père qui n'était roi que de Citium.

⁸⁷ *Revue Num.* 1883, p. 324—327, n. 6—19.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 827—829, n. 21—27. Le n. 20, s'il est de Baalmélek, conviendrait mieux au second roi de ce nom qu'au premier.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 829, 330, n. 28, 29; Luynes, *Satrap. et Phénicie*, Pl. XV, 35—40.

⁹⁰ M. de Vogüé place Azbaal avant Baalmélek, *Rev. Num.* 1867, p. 868, *Mél. d'Arch. Orient. App.* p. 7, mais les statères au type du lion accroupi ne lui étaient pas encore connus.

⁹¹ Luynes, *Satrap.* Pl. XIV, n. 22—25^{bis}.

Houreusement que quelques rares statères de Baalmélek permettent de décider la question. Ils font voir, en même temps, qu'un roi de ce nom a eu pour successeur immédiat le roi Baalram,⁹² comme il a succédé lui-même à Azbaal. M. Berger a donc vu juste en donnant au fils d'Azbaal le nom de son grand-père.

Ces statères qui ne proviennent pas, comme ceux de Baalmélek I, de la grande trouvaille de Dali, mais dont un exemplaire a été recueilli au même lieu dans un petit trésor de date plus récente,⁹³ où il n'y avait pas d'autre statère, se distinguent par une *croix ansée* placée dans le champ du droit et par leur style, bien supérieur à celui des autres statères de Baalmélek et d'Azbaal. Ils se relient par là aux monnaies de Baalram, qui ont le même symbolo et sont du même style. En voici la description.

BAALMÉLEK II.

18. Hercule, revêtu de la peau de lion, marchant à droite, tenant de la main gauche étendue l'arc et brandissant de la droite levée la massue. Devant lui *croix ansée*.

Rev.—Lion, à droite, attaquant un daim, couché à droite ; au-dessus ۷۱۴۶—۰۹۴, (לכע-למלך) ; le tout dans un carré creux bordé de perles. Beau style.

AR 6/5. 10,90. Coll. Imhoof.⁹⁴

19. Autre, . . ۷۱۰—۹ . , (ל)בָּעֵלָם(לְךָ).

⁹² Quand j'ai placé Baalram après Démonicus, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XIV, 1886, p. 144, je ne savais pas encore que Mélékiaton a régné 80 ans au-moins.

⁹³ *Num. Chron.* 1871, p. 1—3.

⁹⁴ Sur l'exemplaire du Cab. de France, Luyn. *Satrap.* Pl. XIV, 22, du reste tout pareil, l'arc et le symbole ne paraissent pas être visibles.

- AR 5. 11,01. Brit. Mus. *Num. Chron.*, 1871, p. 17 n. 1.
Rev. Num., 1883, p. 327 n. 21, trouvaille de Dali.
 10,48 fruste. Ma coll. *Cat. Badeigs de la Borde*,
 n. 512 ; *Rev. Num. l. c. n. 22*, incorrectement.
20. Autre, (לְבָנִים)–עַלְמָלִךְ.
- AR 2. Drachme. Luynes, *Choix*, Pl. XI, 18.

BAALRAM.

21. Mêmes types et probablement même symbole ;
 ፲፻፭፯—L, ל-בָּלְרָם.
- AR 5. 11,05. M. Sorlin-Dorigny, *Rev. Num.*, 1884, p. 290
 vign.
22. Autre, même symbole, ., ፲፭፯—L, (כ)בָּלְרָם.
- AR 2½. 8,50. Ma coll., *Rev. Num.* 1883 l. c. n. 28.
23. Autre, même symbole, sans légende.
- AR 2. 1,80. Ma coll., *Rev. Num. l. c. n. 30* ; *Num. Chron.*
 1871, p. 17, n. 5, 6.
24. Tête d'Hercule, dans la peau de lion, à droite.

Rev.—Même revers, sans légende.

AR 1. 0,97 ; 0,90 ; <i>Rev. Num. l. c. n. 31</i> ; <i>Num. Chr. l. c. n. 7</i> , 10.							
,, 1. 0,50—0,83	"	"	n. 82	"	"	n. 8.	
,, ½. 0,24, 0,20	"	"	n. 83	"	"	n. 9.	

Ces divisions, qui proviennent du même dépôt que le n. 14, me semblent de trop beau style pour les classer au règne précédent. L'absence de légende s'explique par l'exiguité du flan.

25. Hercule combattant du n. 18. Même symbole.

Rev.—Même revers, . נֶגֶל-כָּבָלָר(ס). ל(מֶלֶךְ).

Même beau stylo.

AR 4½. 10,92. Coll. de M. Imhoof, à l'amitié duquel je dois le plaisir de pouvoir publier cette monnaie importante.—Pl. V, n. 12.

Quoique plusieurs de ces légendes soient incomplètes, elles se laissent pourtant toutes restituer avec certitude.

Sur le statère n. 25 et la drachme n. 22, il n'y a place après le ה que pour deux lettres dont la première est à moitié visible ; il faut donc lire Baalram. Sur le statère n. 19, par contre, il y a place pour trois lettres et il reste assez de la première pour s'assurer que c'est un ב. En outre, la manière dont la légende est divisée d'ordinaire par le bois du daim, est différente sous les trois règnes. En rangeant les empreintes que M. Head et M. Imhoof ont bien voulu me donner, en ordre chronologique, d'après la différence ou l'identité des coins, j'ai obtenu le résultat suivant : ל-עֲבָלְמֶלֶךְ ; ל-עֲזַבְעַל ל-עֲזַבְעַל ; ל-כְּבָעַל מֶלֶךְ ; ל-כְּבָעַל רַמֶּס ; ל-כְּבָעַל רָם ; ל-כְּבָעַל מֶלֶךְ ; ל-כְּבָעַל מֶלֶךְ . On peut donc, même quand les lettres finales font défaut, distinguer les émissions de Baalmélek de celles de Baalram.

Il résulte des monnaies qui viennent d'être décrites que Baalram a d'abord suivi la coutume de ses prédécessors qui, quoique rois, ne s'intitulent pas ainsi sur leurs monnaies, et qu'il n'a placé son titre que sur ses émissions postérieures, exemple suivi par ses successeurs Mélékiaton et Pumiaton. C'est ce que nous ignorions encore et c'est le statère de M. Imhoof qui nous l'apprend.

Il s'en suit aussi que ce roi Baalram n'est pas le Baalram, père de Mélékiaton, que mentionnent les inscriptions idaliennes de la II^e et III^e année de ce roi,⁹⁵ et qui ne porte aucun titre. Ce n'est pas non plus, comme le suppose M. Sorlin-Dorigny, l'*anaz* Baalram, fils d'Abdimilcon (Abdmélk), qui dédie une statue la IV^e année⁹⁶ et qui a été identifié par M. Renan avec le père du roi.⁹⁷

¹⁵ *Corp. inscr. Semit.* I, p. 106, n. 90 et p. 101, n. 88.

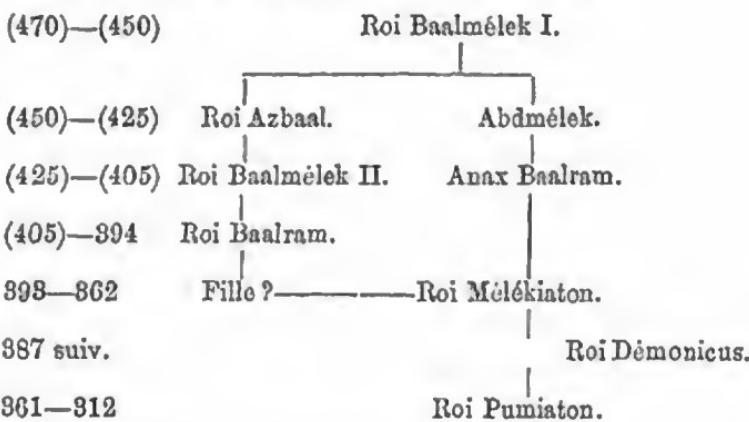
^{**} *Ibid.* p. 104, n. 89.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 106.

A moins donc de supposer que le roi Baalram ait été obligé par une révolution ou par ordre du roi de Perse d'abdiquer en faveur de son fils, ce qui me paraît peu probable, vu que son fils lui aurait toujours conservé son titre dans les inscriptions, il vaut mieux, ce me semble, admettre que Baalram est mort, après un règne fort court,—d'après la rareté de ses monnaies,—sans laisser de fils, et qu'il a été succédé par son plus proche parent,—et son gendre?⁹⁸—Mélékiaton, issu d'un autre Baalram, cousin⁹⁹ peut-être du roi défunt.

Si ce second Baalram est à identifier avec l'*anax* Baalram, comme l'admet M. Renan, son père Abdmélék pourrait être considéré comme le fils cadet de Baalmélek I et nous obtiendrions la généalogie suivante, où les mots *Baal* et *Mélek* alternent d'une façon très régulière.

Les dates apposées seront discutées plus loin.



⁹⁸ Si Mélékiaton n'avait pas été le gendre du roi, on ne voit pas pourquoi il aurait succédé au trône de préférence à son père qui vivait encore.

⁹⁹ Puisque *anax* est en Cypre le titre des fils et des frères du roi, il ne m'a pas semblé trop hardi de voir en Baalram le petit-fils du premier Baalmélek.

Les inscriptions publiées dans le *Corpus Inscr. Sémitic.* ne mentionnent que la 2^e, 3^e, 4^e et 6^e année du règne de Mélékiaton et comme les monnaies qui portent son nom sont peu nombreuses et ne sont point datées, j'ai cru autrefois pouvoir borner son règne à ces six années et le placer entre 368 et 362.¹⁰⁰ Depuis, deux nouvelles inscriptions bilingues, trouvées en 1885 à Tamassos, sont venues me tirer d'erreur.¹⁰¹ L'une est datée de l'an 17, ou plus probablement 18 ou 19, l'autre de l'an 30 du roi. Mélékiaton a donc compté au moins 30 ans de règne et comme l'accession de son fils Pumiaton tombe en 361, ainsi que j'ai tâché de le démontrer,¹⁰² le père est à placer d'avant 392 à 362.

Comment se fait-il que nous n'ayons que si peu de monnaies pour un si long règne ?

La vraie cause me semble avoir été indiquée, plutôt qu'exposée, par M. Euting.¹⁰³ En 387, les Athéniens, sous le commandement de Chabrias, aidèrent Evagoras I à se rendre maître de l'île entière.¹⁰⁴ C'est alors que le roi de Citium aura été détrôné et remplacé par un grec, désigné par le roi de Salamine et il ne sera parvenu à

¹⁰⁰ Rev. Num. 1883, p. 385, où 468—462 est une faute d'impression que je regrette fort de n'avoir pas remarquée à temps. M. de Vogüè donne une dizaine d'années à Mélékiaton, Rev. Num. 1867, p. 372, *Mél. d'Arch. App.* p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Deecke, *Philol. Wochenschr.* 1886, n. 42, col. 1822 suiv.; *Proceed. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* 1886/7, Wright, p. 47—51; Berger, p. 100—104, 153—156; Berger, *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, XV, 1887, p. 187—198, *Mémoire* cité, p. 1—14; Euting, *Sitzungsbl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1887, IX, p. 115—128.

¹⁰² Rev. Num. 1883, p. 338—342. Depuis j'ai acquis une hémidiaque de l'an 28 de Pumiaton, et j'ai constaté que la date de celle du Cab. de la Haye n'est pas 25, mais 47.

¹⁰³ *l. c.* p. 119.

¹⁰⁴ Nepos, *Chabr.* 2; Diodor. XV, 2; Beloch, *Att. Politik scit Pericles*, 1884, p. 356, 359.

reconquérir son autorité que quelques années plus tard, pendant qu'Evagoras était bloqué dans Salamine par les Perses ou même en 379/8, quand la paix fut conclue.¹⁰⁵

Les inscriptions ne s'opposent pas à cette hypothèse. Si on place les six premières années avant 387, de 393 à 388, la durée du règne de Mélékiaton aurait été de 32 ans. Les dates 17/19 et 30 tomberaient en 377/375 et en 364 et il resterait une dizaine d'années, de 387 à 378, pour le règne passager d'un grec. Cet espace est plus que suffisant pour y placer les rares monnaies que M. de Vogüé a assignées à un roi de Citium du nom de Démonicus¹⁰⁶ et celles que j'y ai ajoutées, surtout depuis que j'ai reconnu que ce nom ne se lit pas, comme je l'ai cru à tort, sur le statère du British Museum, aux types de Zeus assis et d'Aphrodite debout devant un thymiatérion.¹⁰⁷ La légende du revers est en réalité, *βασιλέως Τυμοχάριος* et non *βασιλέως Δαμόνι καστρε.*, et M. Head, qui a bien voulu examiner le statère confié à sa garde, confirme ma lecture rectifiée.¹⁰⁸

Si donc, comme les types et les légendes semblent l'indiquer, un Démonicus a régné sur Citium et Idalie,¹⁰⁹ ce règne éphémère peut être placé de 387 jusqu'à 379 peut-

¹⁰⁵ J. Scharfe, *de Euagoræ vita*, 1866, p. 80.

¹⁰⁶ *Rev. Num.* 1867, p. 377—379; *Mél. d'arch. App.* p. 16, 18.

¹⁰⁷ *Num. Chron.* 1882, p. 89—102, Pl. V.; *Rev. Num.* 1883, p. 287, n. 24, Pl. VI, 13.

¹⁰⁸ *Hist. Num.* p. 625. J'ai déjà eu l'occasion d'indiquer la correction dans la *Z. f. N.* XIV, 1886, p. 144.

¹⁰⁹ Comme l'Hercule combattant est le type de Citium, la Pallas armée des monnaies de Démonicus me semble être le type d'Idalie, où, d'après les inscriptions Cyriotes, cette déesse était vénérée spécialement. Le type de Pallas, assise sur la proue, ferait allusion à la flotte Athénienne; sans son secours Démonicus ne serait pas monté sur le trône.

être, celui de Mélékiaton d'environ 393 jusqu'en 387 et d'environ 379 jusqu'en 362 et par conséquent celui de Baalram d'environ 405 à 394.

Les dates à assigner aux trois premiers rois seront alors, en donnant 25 ans à Azbaal dont les monnaies sont nombreuses, et 20 ans à chacun des deux autres, 470 à 450 pour Baalmélek I, 450 à 425 pour Azbaal et 425 à 405 pour Baalmélek II.

Puisque Baalmélek I ne porte pas le titre de roi d'Idalie, comme ses successeurs, cette ville paraît avoir été encore autonome sous son règne, quoique les statères du roi soient souvent surfrappés sur ceux de la ville. C'est donc Azbaal qui s'en sera rendu maître, bien probablement lorsqu'où les Athéniens après avoir vainement assiégié Citium en 449,¹¹⁰ eurent renoncé à soutenir les villes grecques de Cypre contre les Perses.¹¹¹

C'est encore à l'époque de Baalram, sinon à son règne, qu'on pourrait assigner la drachme anépigraphe suivante, jusqu'ici inédite.

26. Hercule marchant à droite, sans peau de lion, brandissant la massue de la main droite levée, et saisissant de la gauche étendue un petit lion qui, retournant la tête, grimpe sur la cuisse gauche du héros. Derrière lui croix ansée. Grénetis.

Rev. — Lion rugissant, accroupi à gauche, la patte droite levée. Dans le fond, derrière la patte gauche du lion, un bœuf marchant à gauche, la tête levée. Le tout dans un carré creux, peu profond, bordé de perles.

AR 3. 3.20. Coll. Imhoof.—Pl. V, 18.

¹¹⁰ Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte* II, 1888, p. 500.

¹¹¹ Je n'ai pas admis dans ma liste Abdémon, qui ne paraît pas avoir régné à Citium, mais à Salamine, dont ses monnaies, encore inédites, portent les types.

Quoiqu'un lion accroupi soit le type des plus anciennes monnaies de Citium et de celles de Baalmélek I, cette drachme-ci est d'un style beaucoup trop récent pour la classer parmi les émissions du 5^e siècle. Il est plus probable qu'au commencement du siècle suivant, on aura renouvelé les anciens types de la ville en leur donnant une forme plus récente. Cela doit avoir eu lieu avant Démonicus, dont les monnaies portent un Hercule luttant contre le lion, de style bien postérieur à celui-ci et après l'accession d'Evagoras I, puisque le seul bœuf qui ressemble à celui de la drachme, se voit sur la plus ancienne monnaie d'Evagoras, où il est conduit par Niké,¹¹² ce qui motive sa pose.

VII.—SABACÈS, SATRAPE D'EGYPTE.

333.

Voici enfin quelques monnaies qui ne sont pas inconnues, mais dont la légende, en caractères araméens, est restée obscure jusqu'ici. Le poids et les types sont ceux des tétradrachmes d'Athènes du 4^e siècle; aussi est-ce à la suite des monnaies d'Athènes qu'elles ont été classées.

27. Tête de Pallas Athéna, portant le casque athénien, à cimier, orné d'un sarment de vigne et de trois feuilles d'olivier, à droite.

Rev.—Chouette debout à droite. Derrière elle, pousse d'olivier et croissant; devant, croissant au-dessus de ☘, et ☜; beau style.

¹¹² *Zeitschr. f. Numism.*, XIV, 1886, p. 147 n. 1.

- a. AR 7. 17,20. Empreinte communiquée par M. Feuardent; provenance Egypte.
- b. AR 7. 16,21. Coll. de M. H. B. Earle Fox, à Athènes.
- Autre, ΗΛΙΑΣ.
- c. AR 7. — — Coll. de Luynes, Beulé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 45 vign.; Blau, *Numism. Zeitschr.* IV, 1872, p. 188 vign.; *Num. Chron.* 1877, p. 223, n. 14.
- d. AR 6½. 14,97 fruste. Brit. Mus., *Cat. Attica*, p. 25, n. 268, Pl. VII, 1.
- e. AR 7½. 15,98. *Ibid.* n. 264, légende illisible.
- f. „ 6. 15,08. *Ibid.* n. 265.

Ces trois exemplaires proviennent d'Egypte.

- Autre, ΗΛΙΑΣ.
- g. AR 6. 16,69. Ma coll.
- 28. Autre, même légende, et à gauche de la chouette, ΛΗΠΑ, יבל¹¹³ ou סכל¹¹³.
- AR 6. — — fruste. M. le Dr. W. Froehner, à Paris, *Num. Chron.* l. c.
- 29. Autre, ΗΛΙΑΣ, et, à gauche, ΤΨ, ρ? ¹¹⁴ sans pousse d'olivier.
- AR 5½. 16,27. Mus. de Berlin; Von Sallet, *Zeitschr. für Numism.* XV, 1887, p. 14 vign. Trouvé à Beyrouth.

Une entaille, plus ou moins profonde, en forme de ✕ a été apposée, en contremarque, sur la tête de Pallas, c, et sur la chouette, a, b, c, f, g. En outre, une rossette est poinçonnée sur la chouette d, et ☙ sur la chouette g et la tête a.

La légende, tracée d'abord en caractères très réguliers et bien formés, devient à la fin si cursive qu'elle n'est

¹¹³ Cp. פָּלָיְלָה.

¹¹⁴ Cp. גַּמֵּן et צָבָן.

lisible qu'en la comparant à celle des émissions antérieures.

Elle est à transcrire τιω, car la dernière lettre n'est pas un *nun*, comme l'a cru Blau, mais un *caph*, comme je crois l'avoir démontré ailleurs.¹¹⁵

Pendant longtemps je n'ai pu deviner quel nom se cachait sous ces quatre lettres, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin la provenance égyptienne de plusieurs exemplaires me fit penser qu'il s'agissait d'un nom propre égyptien se terminant en *k*, comme Psamtik, Ψαμμίτης et autres. Or les noms "Ασυχις, Σάσυχις, Πάσουχις, Πετεσούχις, Σουχᾶς, Σεβίχως, var. Σεύηχως,¹¹⁶ dérivés de celui du dieu Sebek, m'induisent à transcrire τιω par Σεύηχως ou Σεβίχως, comme les grecs nommaient le second roi de la 25^e dynastie égyptienne, Sabataka, tandis que son prédecesseur Sabaka est nommé Σαβάκων.¹¹⁷

D'après Arrien, le satrape d'Egypte, tué à la bataille d'Issos, en Novembre 333, se nommait Σαβάκης,¹¹⁸ et c'est à ce personnage que je voudrais attribuer les tétradrachmes attiques qui viennent d'être décrits.

Ils sont du moins de son temps ; le style en est identique à celui des tétradrachmes d'Athènes que M. Head date, avec raison, d'avant 322 et ils sont mieux gravés que ceux qu'il a fait figurer sur sa planche.¹¹⁹

Une émission de tétradrachmes athéniens au nom du

¹¹⁵ *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 115.

¹¹⁶ Parthey, *Aegypt. Personennamen*, 1864. Sur la prononciation *v* du *b* égyptien dans plusieurs mots, *v.* de Rougè, *Mém. sur l'orig. égypt. de l'alphabet phén.* p. 82.

¹¹⁷ ΝΩ, 2 Rois 17, 4; Wiedemann, *Aegypt. Gesch.*, p. 588.

¹¹⁸ Arrien, *Anab.* II, 11, 8; Quinte Curce III, 11, 10, et IV, 1, 28, donne Sabaces, Sataces, et autres variantes. Dans Diodore XVIII, 84, le nom est corrompu en Τασιάκης.

¹¹⁹ *Cat. Brit. Mus., Attica*, Pl. V, 3—6, p. 132—147.

satrape d'Egypte convient aussi parfaitement aux circonstances.

Quand le roi Darius III apprit la mort de Memnon, auquel il avait confié, après la bataille du Granique, le commandement de la flotte et de l'armée d'Asie-mineure, il résolut de marcher lui-même en tête de l'armée à la rencontre d'Alexandre et donna l'ordre d'enrôler le plus grand nombre possible de mercenaires grecs et de les faire transporter par la flotte perse à Tripolis, d'où Thymondas, le fils de Mentor, les conduisit vers l'armée perse.¹²⁰

Les préparatifs de la guerre et la solde de tant de mercenaires exigeaient de fortes sommes, et les satrapes de Syrie, de Phénicie et d'Egypte, les plus proches du théâtre de la guerre, ont dû être requis les premiers à faire battre monnaie en quantité suffisante. Nous connaissons les émissions faites alors par ordre du satrape de Syrie, Mazaios.¹²¹ Pourquoi n'en admettrions nous pas de Sabacès?

Mais les Egyptiens n'avaient pas de monnaies à eux; il fallait en outre des espèces que les mercenaires accepteraient avec confiance. Le satrape n'avait donc le choix qu'entre des dariques d'or, solde ordinaire des grecs¹²² et des chouettes athéniennes qui circulaient de longue date en masse en Egypte, où les apportait le commerce et les relations intimes qu'Athènes a toujours entretenues avec l'Egypte. Il est bien probable que le satrape n'avait pas l'autorisation de battre de l'or; il ne lui restait donc qu'une émission de chouettes et je suis persuadé qu'il l'a faite.

¹²⁰ Arrien, *Anab.* II, 13, 2; Q. Curce, III, 3, 1; 8, 1; 9, 2; Droysen, *Hellen.* I, 1, p. 239—241, 267.

¹²¹ *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 115.

¹²² Xenophon, *Anab.* I, 3, 21; VII, 6, 1.

Mais où ont-elles été frappées s'il n'y avait pas d'atelier monétaire en Egypte ?

En comparant attentivement les tétradrachmes de Sabacès avec ceux d'Athènes, je n'ai pu constater aucune différence de style ou d'exécution ; c'est tout-à-fait le même faire. Seulement ceux du satrape semblent frappés avec plus de soin et le flan en est plus large ; il leur manque cet aspect d'archaïsme affecté qui caractérise les dernières émissions athéniennes, antérieures à l'an 322.

Il faut donc admettre que le satrape ait trouvé en Egypte des ouvriers capables de graver des coins qui ne se laissent pas distinguer de ceux de l'atelier d'Athènes, ou bien, ce qui ne me paraît pas improbable, qu'il s'est adressé aux Athéniens et que ceux-ci lui ont procuré les coins à son nom et peut-être même les tétradrachmes tout frappés, contre remboursement en blé ou autre marchandise. Cette supposition serait trop hasardée si nous ne savions que les Athéniens étaient fort hostiles au roi de Macédoine, que leur ambassadeur se trouvait alors à la cour de Darius avec ceux de Thèbes et de Sparte, et qu'eux-mêmes n'attendaient qu'un revers de l'armée grecque pour se déclarer ouvertement contre Alexandre.¹²³ Auraient-ils négligé de profiter de l'occasion pour rendre service au satrape d'Egypte, surtout s'il était égyptien, comme son nom semble l'indiquer ?

Ce qui me confirme dans cette opinion, c'est que les contremarques et les entailles, souvent très profondes, apposées au beau milieu de presque tous les exemplaires du n. 27, s'expliquent le mieux comme marques de contrôle ; avant d'accepter les pièces reçues de l'étranger, le

¹²³ Droysen, *l. c.* p. 242, 272—275, 277.

satrape les aura fait peser et poinçonner une à une, pour s'assurer qu'elles n'étaient pas fourrées.

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette hypothèse et que les coins soient l'œuvre d'artistes égyptiens ou athéniens, il ne me semble pas douteux que les tétradrachmes en question ont été émis par ordre de Sabacès, dans l'année même de sa mort à Issos, en 333.

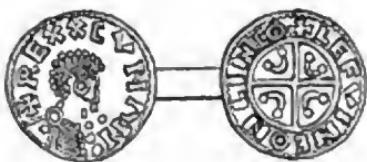
Les noms, peu distincts, qui se lisent, outre le sien, sur les n. 28 et 29, à gauche de la chouette, sont peut-être ceux de questeurs, chargés du payement de la solde aux mercenaires débarqués à Tripolis. C'est dans cette ville, qui possérait sans doute un atelier monétaire, que ces chouettes, dont la légende est bien moins soignée, auront été exécutées en grande hâte, à l'approche d'Alexandre.

Il se peut que ces tétradrachmes ne sont pas les seules monnaies aux types d'Athènes, émises en Egypte avant que ce pays ne se soumit à Alexandre, mais jusqu'ici je n'en ai pas rencontré qui puissent être attribuées avec certitude à cette contrée, tandis que celles qui ont été frappées en Arabie sont nombreuses et variées.¹²⁴

J. P. SIX.

Amsterdam.

¹²⁴ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 687, 688.



VI.

IS IT CERTAIN THAT THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS
WERE ALWAYS STRUCK AT THE TOWNS NAMED
ON THEM?

A CURIOUS little coin came into the possession of my friend Mr. W. S. Churchill, of Manchester, not long ago, and in studying it a question was raised in my mind which, unorthodox as it is, seems to be worth bringing before the Numismatic Society. The coin may be described as follows:—

Obv.—+REXXEVNAM. Rude bust, resembling the so-called Irish type of Æthelred II. (Hawkins, 207) to right; four pellets :: in place of mouth.

Rev.—+LEFVINE ON LINEO. In inner circle a simple cross, cantonned with four crescents, the ends of each crescent terminating in pellets. Size .7 in. Weight 11 grs.

I attribute this coin to Magnus the Good, King of Denmark, 1042—1047, believing the obverse legend to be partially retrograde, EVNAM for MANVE, and I am confirmed in this by the following coins:—1st. The coin described in Herr C. F. Herbst's letter to the late Mr. Henfrey, published in *Num. Chron. N.S.* xx. p. 230.

Obv.—+MÄHNVS REX. Type as Hawkins, 218 (Hildebrand, Danish).

Rev.—+LEFVINE ON LINEO. Type as Hawkins, 217 (Hildebrand, type A).

2nd. A coin described in the catalogue of the mediæval coins of the late Herr C. J. Thomsen, No. 9,975.

Obv.—+MAHNVS + LI. Buste à gauche avec un casque rayé; devant, une petite tête de face.

Rev.—+AREIL ON LVND. Croix simple, cantonnée de quatre croissants, dans un cercle.

This coin, of which the type closely resembles Mr. Churchill's, is of nearly the same size and weight. Size, 17 mm.; weight, about .80 gramme.

With reference to the reverse of the first coin, Herr Herbst writes, "Of course Magnus could not strike money in Lincoln. But it is easy to read the riddle. In the royal Danish cabinet is an English penny of Magnus's predecessor, Harthacnut, struck with exactly the same reverse die as the above-described coin of Magnus. Thus it appears that Lefwine was mint-master at Lincoln under Harthacnut, at whose death he takes service under King Magnus and removes to Denmark. When here, quite disregarding the changes which had taken place, on one of the coins which he strikes for his new master, Magnus, he uses one of his old dies which he had brought over with him from England."

The late Herr Hildebrand, in the second edition of his *Anglosachsiska Mynt*, in a note on page 196, also states that English moneyers were employed in the Scandinavian kingdoms. "Examples are also found that English moneyers in foreign lands struck coins, upon which they placed the names of the English towns from which they came. In the Royal Swedish Coin Cabinet there is a

coin of Olof Skötkonung, of Æthelred's type C, on the reverse of which is read *ÆLFRIE A VALINEFOD* (*Ælfric*, under King *Æthelred*, struck a number of coins of different types in Wallingford). It is not probable that Olof Skötkonung had coins struck in England, but he employed English moneyers." See again, on page 390, in his remarks on the types of Harthacnut. Further, the editor of the catalogue of Herr Thomsen's mediæval coins adds the following note to the description of the coin above mentioned. "This coin is very remarkable. According to the legend it was struck at Lund; but the types and its light weight cause us to attribute it with certainty to Jutland. Examples are even known of coins belonging indisputably to Jutland, which claim by their legends to have been struck in English mints." And he further refers to another coin in the same catalogue, No. 10,141, attributed to Sven *Aestrithsen*, Magnus's successor, of the Danish Byzantine type, with *Ov.*, Christ standing, and *Rev.*, a modification of Æthelred's Irish type and the legend + *LEOFPINE OII DOF*.

Seeing that it is now allowed that "the first coins certainly struck in Denmark, Norway, or Sweden are all copied from types of Æthelred II.'s coins" (Keary's *Introduction to the Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum*, p. xxx.), it is not unreasonable to suppose that English moneyers were employed to start the coinage in those countries. In confirmation of this it may be noted that *ÆLFRIE*, who appears in Hildebrand's list of moneyers at Wallingford under Æthelred II., on coins Nos. 3,891 and 3,899, does not again appear in Hildebrand's lists of moneyers at that town under any of the succeeding kings. The Lefwine, Lefvine, or Leofwine, who appears in Hildebrand's lists of moneyers at Lincoln

under Cnut, Nos. 1,593—4, and 1,608—1,621, under Harold I., Nos. 405—6 and 415—16, and who, according to Herr Herbst, also figures on an English penny of Harthacnut, does not appear under Lincoln on any coin of Edward the Confessor in Hildebrand, nor in Mr. Head's account of the Chancton find (*Num. Chron.* N.S. vii. p. 63), but his name does appear in Mr. Willett's list of the City hoard (*Num. Chron.*, N.S. xvi. p. 354), and in Dr. Evans's further account of the same (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd S. v. p. 271) as occurring on Mr. Willett's type I (Hildebrand, type A, var. C), and the Leofwine, Leoffwine, or Lufwine, who appears in Hildebrand's lists of moneyers at Dover, under Cnut, Nos. 335 and 347, under Harthacnut on a coin of type A, No. 27, and under Edward the Confessor on two coins of type C, Nos. 78 and 79, does not appear on any Dover coin in the Chancton find nor in the City hoard.

From which it would appear that the three above-named moneyers were not actively employed in England at the times when the coins bearing their names were struck for the Scandinavian kings; and it is therefore not improbable that *Ælfric* on Wallingford, moneyer under *Æthelred II.*, took service under King Olof, and perhaps settled in Sweden; that *Lefwino* on Lincoln, moneyer in England under Cnut, Harold, and Harthacnut, after the latter's death (as suggested by Herr Herbst), or perhaps in his lifetime, took service in Denmark, but returned to England towards the close of the reign of Edward the Confessor; whilst *Leofwino* on Dover, moneyer in England under Cnut and Harthacnut, and during the early part of Edward the Confessor's reign, afterwards went to Denmark, and was a moneyer there under *Sven Æstrithsen*.

With the evidence afforded by these coins, confirming the statement of the great Swedish numismatist, that "English moneyers in foreign lands struck coins upon which they placed the name of the English towns from which they came," the question suggested itself, Is it quite certain that the towns named on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon kings always represent the *mints* where the coins were struck? or may they not be simply the names of the towns from which the various moneyers came?

Such an interpretation would explain the curious and puzzling coins of Æthelred II. with the names of Irish towns, and those of the Irish king Sihtric with the names of English towns; for if the Scandinavian kings called in the aid of English moneyers at home, it seems probable enough that the Hiberno-Scandinavian king, under whom, as Dr. Aquilla Smith has shown (*Num. Chron.* 3rd S., ii. p. 308), the Irish coinage began, did likewise at his newly established mint in Dublin, nor would it be unreasonable to suppose that he also sent some of his own subjects to be instructed in the art of coining at one or more of the English mints. Here, however, Hildebrand fails to support my suggestion, for in his introductory remarks on Sihtric's coins, after noticing some previously offered explanations, he ventures on no more decided opinion than that "one should perhaps simply assume that both English and Irish moneyers, each one in his own home, sometimes found themselves induced to strike coins with the names of contemporary foreign princes on the obverse." A rather unsatisfactory conclusion. He might have applied the same reasoning to the coin of Olof Skötkonung, already cited; perhaps even to the coin of Magnus, described by Herr Herbst, for Hawkins includes the obverse type of this coin in his

English types of Harthacnut. It is true that Hildebrand does not agree with him, believing the type to be Danish (*A. M.*, p. 391). But Mr. Churchill's coin and the coin of Sven Æstrithsen in Thomsen's catalogue are both evidently Danish, and require some other explanation. The suggestion quoted in the second edition of Hawkins's *English Silver Coins*, p. 150, that Edgar had possessed himself of Ireland, and that it therefore was not surprising that his son should have struck money there, would no doubt, if tenable, explain Æthelred's coins with the names of Irish towns; but it would leave those of Sihtric with the names of English towns unexplained. Whereas if we could believe that Sihtric's coins with the names of English towns were struck by English moneyers in his employ, and that Æthelred's and Cnut's coins with the names of Irish towns were struck by subjects of Sihtric, who were learning their business in English mints, both would be explained.

If the reason given by Hawkins (p. 428) for placing the moneyers' names on the coins be true, viz.: "It was probably in order that each moneyer's coins might be separated at the trials of the Pix, and that each might be responsible only for his own works," it was the moneyer's name which was of importance, for doubtless the coins sent for trial from each mint would not be sent singly, but in quantity, so that there would be no difficulty in keeping the pieces from each mint separate.

The papers by the late Archdeacon Pownall (*Num. Chron.*, ii. p. 236, and xx. p. 67) and by Mr. Willett (*Num. Chron.*, N.S. xvi. p. 327, and 3rd S., i. p. 32) on the meaning of the word "ON," and the evidence afforded by Danish coins in favour of Archdeacon Pownall's reading of it as IN, the Danish I replacing the Anglo-Saxon

ON on the coins of the later Danish kings, published in Thomsen's catalogue, make me feel some diffidence in bringing this question before the Numismatic Society, and I only do so in the hope that, if it be thought worth considering, some other member may have more time and better opportunities of studying it than I have here.

In conclusion, from the weight of Mr. Churchill's coin, viz. 11 grains, or .71 gramme, it would appear, according to the editor of Thomsen's catalogue, to have been struck for Jutland, and the same test of weight applied to the curious coin which gave rise to the correspondence between Herr Herbst and the late Mr. Henfrey, described by the latter in *Num. Chron. N.S.*, xix. p. 220, confirms Herr Herbst's attribution of it to Denmark. Mr. Henfrey described the coin as being in "very perfect preservation," and yet as weighing only 11½ grains; now Hildebrand, who gives the highest and lowest weights of each type of the 3,869 English coins of Cnut described by him, had apparently met with no coin amongst them weighing less than '90 gramme, or nearly 14 grains.

Since writing the above I find that the type of Mr. Churchill's coin was also in use under Harthaenut. Thomsen had a coin, No. 9,891, described as: "Type, Buste à gauche, avec un casque formé de rais, dans un cercle. Rev. Croix simple, cantonnée de quatre croissants, dans un cercle. Ov. + N·ARDEENVT. Rev. ARGRIN ON ORBEZ." Size 17-18 mm., weight about .75 gramme. It should be noted that, in his catalogue, the coins of Denmark are divided into those of Eastern and Western Denmark. To the first, comprising Scania and Zealand, he assigns the coins weighing 1 gramme; to the latter, comprising Jutland, Schleswig, and Fünen, he assigns the smaller coins, weighing .70 to .80 gramme.

SAM. SMITH, JR.

VII.

GERMAN MEDALLISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.¹

To M. Adolf Erman, attached to the Royal Cabinet of Medals at Berlin, we are indebted for the first attempt to distinguish and classify the works of the German medallists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This tentative sketch, for such it admittedly is, deserves more prominent notice than it has hitherto received.

The German medallists differ essentially from the Italian in this respect, that, as a rule, they abstain from adding a signature to their work, and such a tribute to the *amour propre* of the artists as is familiar to the students of Pisano, Sperandeo, Boldu, and others, is generally wanting beyond the Alps. Even when a name is hinted at it is only by means of initials, monogram, or mysterious cipher, and there is hardly an instance in the whole of M. Erman's work of a full signature being given. Hence it occurs that previous writers have either ignored the subject of authorship altogether, or attempted attributions have turned out to be palpable

¹ *Deutsche Medailleure des Sechszehnten und Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts, von Adolf Erman.* Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1884.

blunders. However, science is advancing, museums and private persons have been collecting and collating, and archives have been searched, till at last we are in a fair way not only to distinguish with certainty the different schools, such as those of Nuremberg, Augsburg, Austria, and Saxony, but to range in order the productions of the different medallists. Thus one monogram discovered on a medal may easily become the key to the authorship of a whole series, for in some cases there is enough individuality to enable it to be identified without the closest scrutiny. Others, of course, are more difficult to determine by the style alone.

M. Erman sweeps away as untrustworthy the traditional information supplied by the earlier writers (with the single exception of Bergmann), taking contemporary records as the only source of certain knowledge, and applying the methods of his late chief, Dr. Friedländer, when dealing with the Italian medallists. His plan has been to bring together all the medals bearing a similar signature, and to add to each list such others as may be indisputably assigned to the same hand, the precaution being taken of distinguishing by an asterisk the pieces that are unsigned. As in the case of the Italian medals, a grave difficulty is encountered when a whole series is found without a single signature, and this unfortunately occurs with some of the best work. In such cases the artist is described by the leading date of his work, as, for example, the medallist of 1525-6, a year in which portraiture in medals seems to have reached its most brilliant point at Nuremberg and Augsburg.

M. Erman well remarks that a particular artist was *in fashion* at a particular time, so that one favourite succeeded another somewhat rapidly, and the greater part of one

individual's work was not spread over a long period. At any rate an artist would exhaust one place or court and proceed to another. This fact greatly assists the work of scientific attribution, so far as it is affected by considerations of time and place.

An important feature of M. Erman's study is that it relates only to the cast medals, as opposed to those that were struck. The Germans of the sixteenth century excelled all others in the perfection of their casting, and it is only with medals obtained from models in relief that we are now concerned. This leads to the question of the nature of the material of the models. At first wood seems to have been the usual medium, but the use of stone soon followed, a species of hone-stone of the hardest quality being chosen, such as was obtained from the noted quarries of Kelheim, in Bavaria. This material in the hands of the great German masters was capable of yielding work of extraordinarily fine character, and, owing to the highly successful methods of casting above referred to, the medal that resulted almost equalled the model itself in sharpness. The models in wood, on the other hand, costing much less labour, admitted of that bold, free, and strikingly artistic style which is to be observed in the incomparable work of Hans Schwartz. Another material was a composition of the nature of putty, which had the double advantage of being easily manipulated, and of becoming hard enough to admit of a mould being made from it. Wax models do not appear to have been used in Germany till after the middle of the sixteenth century, having no doubt been introduced from Italy. Specimens of models in all these substances may be seen in most collections of importance.

That the carved portrait model was the parent of the medal, and that this mode of producing the medal in

Germany was indigenous, seems to be clearly shown. Italy, however, must be taken to be indirectly responsible for the custom, which had prevailed there for more than half a century, of the friendly exchange of these portable likenesses. They answered exactly the same social requirement as the modern photograph, and it was precisely the necessity of multiplying the original that caused the medal to proceed from the portrait in wood or stone. In the first instance it was without a reverse, but that soon followed. M. Erman assigns 1510 as the date when the use of medals began, generally with an obverse only, and in 1526 we get the complete reverse executed on distinct rules. The fashion then became completely established, first about the courts of Germany, both temporal and spiritual, and as "where the great ones lead the smaller follow," it descended through the different classes of society that were able to afford such expensive luxuries.

Some interesting information is given as to the lettering of the legends. It is not uncommon to find that the original model, from which complete medals with legends have been cast, has no lettering whatever. The explanation is that some of the early masters (*e.g.* Hans Schwartz) impressed *on the mould* the letters of the legend, apparently one by one—a proceeding somewhat clumsy and tending to inaccuracy, while others seem to have glued them on to the model before making the mould. Some wax models on slate by Abondio and Valentine Maler, are without any form of letters, which must have been imprinted on the mould, probably with ordinary printing type. This accounts for the changes in the legend so often to be observed.

With regard to the metal used and the method of casting M. Erman also gives some instruction. In the older

medals, owing to their large size, bronze was the usual substance, and the earliest date of the use of silver known to the author is 1526. The question whether medals in tin and lead were in common use is answered in the affirmative. It appears that such medals have been found, with others in gold and silver, deposited for commemoration purposes in the foundations of buildings, and it is well known that the goldsmiths used to take castings in lead of their productions, either as souvenirs or trial pieces, or for communication to other craftsmen. The Italian artists, from Pisano downwards, did the same thing.

The earlier German medallists, when employing a reverse at all, cast their medals in one piece, but the best artists of the middle of the sixteenth century cast from two moulds (*i.e.* one for each side), always maintaining a thin substance. This method would naturally result from the great liability to imperfections in the process, as it reduced by half the risk of the medal being spoilt.

The quality of thinness, it is to be noted, is one of the first tests of a genuine German medal and is a remarkable "point."

Another peculiar method sometimes adopted was to cast the portrait and the reverse separately, and to attach them with pins to a silver plate, which thus formed the field of the medal.

The fact that certain artists, such as Schwartz, Hagenauer, Valentine Maler, and Tobias Wolff, from their generally recognised excellence, became so highly in favour, caused them by reason of the pressure on their time to make their work too much of a trade routine, and this accounts for the strong resemblance running through their respective series. The same reproach has been levelled at Sperandeo, Pastorino, and others among the Italians.

Turning to the more immediate subject of the work, we find the list beginning with a good name—Peter Vischer (1507—1511), not the father, but the son. Whether Dürer is to rank among medallists is not absolutely decided, but at any rate three pieces bear his monogram. Passing to Hans Schwartz, the author is on safer ground, for he has discovered a medal of the artist himself, which he gives good reasons for assigning to his own hand. Those who have not closely studied the magnificent series of Nuremberg and Augsburg medals will find a rich field in the work of this exponent of the art. His medals are numerous, but (so far as they are dated) range over but a short period (1518—1523). He was evidently one of those whom fashion favoured, and an examination of the specimens figured in M. Erman's work, or in the *Trésor de Numismatique (Méd. Allem.)*, will show how deservedly this predilection was bestowed. He was the person to whom Albert Dürer himself entrusted the execution of his portrait (Erman, Pl. I. 4), and for which, as the author states in a note, he entered in his diary at Antwerp the payment of two florins in gold. Besides this his list presents an array of important and familiar names: the Pfinzings, the Imhoffs, the Tuchers, Tetzel, Behaim, Frederick II. of the Palatinate, Joachim I. of Brandenburg, Burgkmair the painter, Cardinal Lang, and all the aristocracy of Franconia.

The next long list is attached to an anonymous artist of the years 1525-6, whose work is of very special merit, and the discovery of whose name is to be awaited with interest. The epoch of the use of silver medals begins with his time. The following specimens belonging to his series may be found in the *Trésor de Num.*, Bastian Starcz (5, 7), Hedwig of Münsterberg (45, 3 ter), Ambrosius

Quetz (6, 1), Johannes von Gutenberg (6, 8), Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg (6, 2), George Koetzler (6, 7), Christopher Fuerer (6, 4), Jordan von Herzheim (5, 8), Lypold von Kliezenk (5, 4), Friedrich Behaim (6, 9), Linhat Wickel (6, 6), and others.

The famous Friedrich Hagenauer follows on from this date to 1546, thus covering a space of twenty years. Some of his medals are signed with the familiar "H" in the field (wrongly ascribed to Jean Heel by the authors of the *Trésor*), while a considerable proportion are without signature. He was probably a native of Strasburg, and worked at Cologne and other places, but is more especially associated with Augsburg. Many of his medals are figured in Bergmann and in the *Trésor*, and they include portraits of Otto Heinrich, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Joachim I. of Brandenburg (*Trésor*, 45, 2), Melancthon (*Trésor*, 16, 2 & 3), Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, and others of the Reformers. The evidences of his work are said to consist of low relief, thin casting, peculiar reverses (for the most part only a sentiment or a date), and especially the peculiar form of the lettering, which is distinguished by small low characters, the up and down strokes being imperfectly defined. His earlier medals represent chiefly citizens of Augsburg, or persons who were present at the Diet, his work at Cologne being of later date.

The familiar medals of John Frederick of Saxony (*Trésor*, 14, 3) and Charles V. (*Trésor*, 20, 5), signed HR, and formerly attributed to Heinrich Reitz, are now declared to be the work of Hans Reinhard, of Leipzig.

Among the medallists of the latter part of the sixteenth century Valentine Maler, of Nuremberg, was the most prolific, his medals ranging from 1568 to 1593. His marriage with the daughter of Wenzel Jamnitzer, the

greatest of German goldsmiths, gave him a high position in the artistic world. He executed both cast and struck medals, the latter being produced chiefly as articles of commerce, and he enjoyed by imperial grant the privilege of issuing them as marketable commodities. It was perhaps to certify to purchasers the correctness of the portraits that such expressions as "Imago ad vivam effigiem expressa," "Warhaftig conterfeit," are to be found even in the earlier medals executed for sale.

Another important artist of about the same date is Tobias Wolff, of Breslau. His works form the subject of an interesting paper in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, (viii. S. 199) by Dr. A. von Sallet. His monogram, W, was formerly supposed to stand for Tobias Wost, but his identity is now satisfactorily proved. His portraits are strikingly true to life, and possess a powerful charm on that account, as well as for their delicate casting and chasing. Dr. von Sallet considers him to be of the highest rank, and quite the equal of Jamnitzer.

The seventeenth century presents but few names of interest, though the list includes those of Hans Petzoldt, who reproduced Schwartz's medal of Dürer; Christian Maler, the son of Valentine, Gaspar Enderlein, Paul Zeggin, and I.D.B., the author of the pretty medal of Frederick IV., of the Palatinate, and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. of England.

To sum up, M. Erman has collected fifty-seven complete names of medallists, and eighty-seven known only by their monogram; and though not a single medal is fully described, some eight hundred are referred to under the headings of the different artists. A valuable addition to the text will be found in ten plates, giving representa-

tive specimens of the medals, admirably reproduced by the autotype process. Unpretentious, therefore, as the work is, and claiming only to be a forerunner of greater things, it must be considered as of the highest value in treating a most difficult subject, and it is only to be hoped that its further development may fulfil the hopes of its author with the attainment of equal success.

T. WHITCOMBE GREENE.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Beschreibung der antiken Münzen (Königliche Museen zu Berlin). Bd. I. Berlin, 1888. Price 25 marks.

In the neatly printed little volume before us we have at last the long-expected first instalment of the Catalogue of the Berlin Coin-Cabinet. For some reason, doubtless a good one, the learned director of the Berlin Münzkabinet, Dr. Alfred von Sallet, has seen fit to deviate from the time-honoured order of Eckhel, and to begin his catalogue with the Tauric Chersonesus. The present volume contains the coins of the Tauric Chersonesus, Sarmatia, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, and Thrace, including the kings and dynasts of that region. The compiler in a short preface acknowledges his indebtedness to his predecessor, the late Julius Friedlaender, whose manuscript he has, however, to a great extent re-written, incorporating with it all the recent acquisitions, including those from the famous collections of Gen. Fox and Count von Prokesch Osten, which have added so enormously to the value and importance of the German Coin-Cabinet. Dr. von Sallet has also been assisted in some portion of the work by Dr. B. Pick. The volume is illustrated by eight autotype plates representing about seventy-five coins, and by sixty-three zincographic cuts in the text.

In form and general arrangement, the method of our own British Museum catalogues, now familiar to all numismatists, is closely followed, i.e. the obverses and reverses are described in parallel columns. There is, however, an additional column which gives the names of the collections from which the coins have passed into the Royal collection.

In the case of certain famous cabinets this is an undoubted improvement, but the space available for the descriptions, already far too narrow, is seriously encroached upon by this extra side-column. Another innovation which we may here mention (and this last is of more practical utility), is the addition of short explanatory notes in the text in which the writer gives, as often as occasion requires, references to works where similar coins are published, or adds concise remarks of his own which cannot fail to be a great help to the student.

A comparison of this volume with the corresponding volume of the British Museum catalogue by Head and Gardner, which appeared as long ago as 1877, shows how very much richer in this portion of the collection the Berlin Museum is than our own, as a few instances taken at random will suffice to show:—Thus of Panticepaeum the Germans have 108 coins, while the British Museum has only 58; of Olbia they have 145 against 23 in our own cabinet; of Viminacium 158 as against 48; of Abdera 144 against our 108; of Aonus 75 against 49; of Maronea 115 against 99; of the towns of the Thracian Chersonesus 268 against 146, and so throughout.

The great advantage in absolute weight of material possessed by the German catalogue over the English is, we confess, a matter of no small surprise to us, accustomed as we have been to look upon our national collection as second only, and not always second, to that of France; and this advantage largely compensates for some of the small failings of the new volume, regarded from a scientific point of view, to which we feel bound to call attention, not in any carping spirit, but in the hope that a too strict attention to mere outward uniformity, a matter of very slight consequence, may not prevent the adoption of useful improvements in future volumes.

The greatest defect in our opinion is the entire omission of chronological headings in the autonomous series of the various towns. Surely a numismatist of such eminent skill and accurate insight as Dr. von Sallot might have ventured to give us his idea of the approximate dates of the coins which he describes. Without too much dogmatism it would have been for him an easy matter to have classed the autonomous coins under at least five distinct periods, such as (i.) archaic, (ii.) fifth century, (iii.) fourth century to Alexander the Great, (iv.) after Alexander, (v.) Period of Roman Dominion. And yet, except for a note here and there, and that but rarely, appended to a description, we search in vain for dates. As the illustrations are far too scanty, it is for the most part quite impossible for one who is unacquainted with the originals to form any judgment of the periods to which they belong merely from the verbal descriptions, admirably accurate as they generally are.

Another, though far less striking blemish, appears to have arisen from a too strict adherence to the order and classification of the coins as they lie in the trays. Thus on p. 48, seven coins are catalogued under Callatia, with an added note in the text stating that they belong probably to Calchedon. Again, on p. 137 the silver coins with a lion's scalp on the obverse, and

ΑΠΟΛ on the reverse, are retained under the heading of Apollonia in Thraco, while the writer nevertheless accepts Giel's recent restoration of these pieces to Panticapaeum, on the ground that they are always found at Kertsch, which apparently was at one time called Apollonia. Also on p. 166 we are referred to Eubrogi Galatiae for the coins reading **EYBP**, which as Imhoof has shown (*Mon. Gr.* p. 461) belong in reality to a Thracian dynast of the fourth century. As Dr. von Sallet acknowledges the justice of all these reattributions there would seem to be no sufficient reason for his retention of obsolete classifications. Would it not have been a simpler matter to transfer all these coins to the towns to which the writer believes they properly belong, rather than to deliberately catalogue them under wrong headings? All these, however, are but small defects, and, as they are not numerous, detract but little from the value of the catalogue as a whole.

The notes appended to the descriptions contain a mass of interesting information which will be invaluable to serious students, and they compensate in some measure for the want of a general historical introduction, the absence of which is nevertheless to be regretted. Among these notes we have space only to refer to two of the most important: on p. 55 we learn that Dr. Pick reads the letters **ΥΠ** which precede the name of the Roman Governor on the coins of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis not as **ΥΠΟ**, but as **ΥΠ[ΑΤΙΚΟΥ]**, and similarly **ΗΓΟΥΜ** on coins of Marcianopolis (p. 65) not as **ΗΓΟΥΜ-[ΕΝΟΥ]** but as **ΗΓ[ΕΜΟΝΟΣ]** followed by a gentile name beginning with the syllable **OYM** (Um). The Roman Governor (Legatus Consularis) was therefore called in Greek either ἡγεμών or ἡπατικός. The coins of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis here described furnish a long series of these Legati Consulares.

We conclude these remarks with an earnest hope that the learned and zealous Director of the Berlin Coin-Cabinet will before long give us another volume of a work, which taken in connection with our British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins will go far to lay the foundations for the corpus of Greek coins which cannot be satisfactorily compiled until the contents of all the great collections of Europe have been put on record.

B. V. H.

Chr. Giel, *Kleine Beiträge zur antiken Numismatik Südrusslands.* Moscow, 1886. 4to, pp. 43. With 5 Plates.

Russian numismatists have naturally some peculiar facilities for studying the ancient coinages of the Crimea and the Kingdom

of Bosporus, and during the last few years contributions to this section of Greek numismatics have been made by several writers, among whom may be mentioned Burachkov, Oreschnikow, and Podschivalow. Another Russian numismatist, Mr. Giel, must be thanked for publishing in the little volume now before us a description of several interesting coins in his own collection (photographed in Plates I. and II.), and for discussing some of the problems suggested by other coins which he illustrates in his Plates III., IV., V. The coins described by Mr. Giel are as follows: 1. *Olbia*. 2. *Tyra*. 3. *Tauric Chersonese*. 4. *Nymphaeum*. 5. *Panticapaeum*. 6. *Sindika*. Several specimens of the coinage of the Sindj are here published. Mr. Giel (p. 6) attributes a curious silver coin with *obv.*, Herakles kneeling *r.* *Rev.* ΣΙΝΔΩ[Ν] owl with spread wings, in incuse square, to the beginning of the third century B.C., but this appears to be far too late, as the style of the coin is that of the early part of the fourth century. 7. *Mithradates Eupator*. A tetradrachm dated 209 (Pontic Era) = B.C. 89—88, with an interesting and somewhat unusual portrait of Mithradates. 8. *Pharnaces II.* 9. *Asander*. Mr. Giel considers that Asander did not portray his own head on his coins until he became king; the heads which appear on the coins issued by Asander as Archon (Giel, Pl. II. 22; V. 7, 8) are here named J. Caesar and M. Antonius. But the resemblance in both cases is very slight. 10. An important coin of Pythodoris, *obv.* Head of Augustus. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΞΓ Capricorn *r.*; behind, cornucopiae. *A.R.* wt. 3·92 grammes. The date ΞΓ (68) is unpublished, and involves a modification of the usual chronology of the reign of Pythodoris as Queen of Pontus. Oreschnikow (whom Giel cites at length) is of opinion that the era employed by Pythodoris on her coins begins in B.C. 31, and not in B.C. 47 as hitherto supposed. The coin dated 68 would thus correspond to A.D. 82—83. 11. *Polemo II.* A new silver coin with the date '18' and the heads of Claudius and Nero facing one another. Also a silver coin with date '17' and *obv.* Head of Nero. 12. *Sauromates I.* *Æ.* *Rev.* King galloping *r.* There does not appear to be any special reason for attributing this coin to Sauromates I. rather than to the king usually called Sauromates II. 13. *Sauromates II.* 14. *Ininthineus*. A stater with the rare date '584.'

Pages 20—24 deal with a class of small silver coins with the types of an ant or a lion's head facing, and (in many cases) the inscription ΑΓΩΛ. (Cp. Imhoof, *Monn. Gr.*, pp. 41—43.) A list of these is drawn up with illustrations (Plate III.). Mr.

Giel, relying chiefly on the evidence of the find-spots, attributes them all to Panticapaeum. He supposes Apollonia (ΑΠΟΛ) to have been another name of that city.

Pages 25 ff. deal with certain monograms which appear on the earlier coins of the Kingdom of Bosporus. (α) The first of these is the much-discussed monogram ΒΑΕ on various bronze coins which (as Mr. Giel shows) were struck for Bosporus. These coins are generally supposed to have been issued by Mithradates Eupator (the Great). Mr. Giel admits that the monogram is that of Mithradates Eupator, but shows that there are good reasons for thinking that the coins were actually issued by his son Machares, who ruled in Bosporus, at first, doubtless, in dependence upon his father. (β) The monogram ΒΑΤ on other bronze coins of Bosporus is also attributed to Machares, Mr. Giel reading it as Βασιλεὺς Μαχάρον Υἱον Μιθραδάτου. Von Sallet has read the monogram as BAMI, and referred the coins to Mithradates Eupator. (γ) Giel next discusses the monograms Ξ, ΚΕ, ΠΡ, which occur on a series of gold staters, having on the obverse a head of Augustus and on the reverse a beardless male head. He maintains that the head on the reverse is that of Agrippa, though the resemblance is certainly very slight. The coins with these three monograms have been sometimes assigned to three different kings, but Giel, on reasonable grounds, assigns them all to Aspurgus, a King of Bosporus known from lapidary inscriptions. This attribution had already been determined on (independently of Mr. Giel) for the arrangement of these coins in the British Museum. Mr. Giel's interpretation of these three monograms is ingenious, possibly too ingenious. In ΠΡ he sees the letters ΑΣΠΡ (Aspurgus); in Ξ, Α (Aspurgus), ΔΥ (Dynamis, mother of Aspurgus), and Μ (Mithradates Eupator, uncle of Dynamis); in ΚΕ Καῖσαρ Τιβέριος Νέρων or Τιβέριος Κλαιόδος Νέρων. (δ) In the monogram ΗΡ which occurs on coins of Panticapaeum, Gorgippia and Phanagoria in the time of Mithradates Eupator, Giel considers that we have the name ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ.

W^ARWICK WROTH.

The *Revue Numismatique*, 1887, Pt. IV. contains the following articles:—

1. Th. Reinach. Essay on the numismatics of the kings of Bithynia. M. Reinach has followed up his valuable paper on the kings of Cappadocia, with another no less important investi-

gation of the coinage of the kings of Bithynia. The chief points which the writer has satisfactorily established are the following:—First, that the so-called Pontic era was in reality the royal Bithynian era, adopted by Nicomedes II. in B.C. 148, and calculated from B.C. 297, the year in which Zipoetes, dynast of Bithynia, first adopted the royal title. This era continued to be used down to B.C. 74, when Nicomedes III. left his kingdom to the Romans. The first occurrence of this Bithynian era on coins of Pontus was not until B.C. 96. Secondly, that the era according to which the Roman Proconsuls of Bithynia dated their coins was distinct from the royal era, and was in fact the local era of the city of Nicaea B.C. 283, extended by the Romans to the whole province of Bithynia. With regard to the rare coins of the two Queen of Prusias ad mare, named Orsobaris Musa, and Oradaltis, daughter of King Lycomedes, M. Reinach here proposes to identify the former with Orsobaris, a daughter of Mithradates, whom he supposes to have been installed as ruler of the city of Prusias by Pompey, and the latter with a daughter of Lycomedes, a noble Bithynian, whom Cæsar made High Priest of Comana in Pontus B.C. 47—81. He further supposes that this Lycomedes was identical with Nicomedes, a son of Nicomedes III (Philopator), the last King of Bithynia, and a grandson on his mother's side of Ariarathes VI., Epiphanes, of Cappadocia. In virtue of this double royal descent, Lycomedes appears to have been allowed by Cæsar to retain the title of king. Appended to M. Reinach's paper is a useful genealogical stemma of the kings of Bithynia which covers a period of nearly four centuries.

2. A. Sorlin-Dorigny and E. Babelon. Unpublished Nabataean coins. The most important of the new varieties here published is a silver didrachm of Obodas I., having on the obverse jugate busts of the king and his queen.

3. E. Babelon. Tarcondimotus, dynast of Cilicia. The coin of this king here published is the first which gives the true legend of the reverse, viz., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΡΚΟΝΔΙΜΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΝΤΩΝ[iov]. Hitherto numismatists have read ΛΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ, but it is now proved that Tarcondimotus, who took the side of Antony against Octavius, and was killed at the battle of Actium B.C. 31, formally adopted the title of Φίλου Ἀντωνίου.

4. A. Engel. Notes on some ancient countermarks and on some numismatic peculiarities. The writer, out of a large number of countermarks chiefly on Roman coins, is only able here and there to suggest a probable explanation. The subject is not a very attractive one, as owing to the difficulties of explain-

ing these marks satisfactorily, it offers few inducements to students.

5. E. Caron. On a coin of Jean de Chateauvillain, Baron of Bourbon-Lancy, probably struck at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

6. J. Rouyer. On jetons, apparently French, struck at Sedan in the time of Louis XIII. before that town was united to France.

The *Revue Numismatique*, 1888, Pt. I., contains the following articles :

1. A. Sorlin-Dorigny. On a funeral gold obol of Cyzicus. The piece here described is a thin gold bracteate with a Capricorn upon it.

2. E. Drouin. Chronology and Numismatics of the Indo-Scythian kings. This is the first portion of an important treatise which will throw much light upon a very obscure and difficult subject. We hope to notice it at greater length when the work is completed.

3. J. N. Svoronos. On some unpublished Cretan coins of the towns Anopolis, Dreros, Erannos, and Myrina. These coins are of late and very rude work. M. Svoronos's attributions seem to be quite incontrovertible, except, perhaps, those to Erannos, for the monogram on these coins appears to stand for the letters NEA rather than EPAN.

4. M. Prou. On Merovingian *trientes* in the British Museum.

5. P. C. Robert. On a double *Mouton d'or* of the Chapter of Cambrai.

6. M. do Vienne. On the establishment and reductions of the silver pound of account from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

7. N. Rondot. Claude Warin, Engraver and Medallist, 1630—1654.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Bd. XV. Parts II. and III., contain the following articles :—

1. J. Menadier. On finds of German mediæval coins in Holstein, Silesia, Posen, &c.

2. Th. Mommsen. On the coins of C. Clodius Vestalis.

3. Th. Mommsen. Mithradates Philopator Philadelphus. In this paper Prof. Mommsen combats M. de Sallet's attribution of the tetradrachms reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ to Mithradates

Euergetes, the father of Mithradates the Great. The writer, on the strength of an inscription lately published in the *Bullettino della comm. arch. munic. di Roma*, 1886, p. 408, in which Mithradates Philopator Philadelphus is said to have been a son of Mithradates, endeavours to prove that he was a son of Mithradates the Great. We think, however, that most numismatists will agree with M. de Sallet and with M. Th. Reinach, that the coin is distinctly earlier in date than the time of Mithradates Eupator.

4. Weber. On two interesting mediæval coins of uncertain attribution.

5. F. van Vleuten. On a double-struck coin of Brabant.

The Part concludes with notices of Keary's *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, Vol. I., and of Head's *Historia Numorum*.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band XV. Part IV., contains the following articles:—

1. Th. Mommsen. The fifteen mints of the fifteen Dioceses of Diocletian. The writer here shows that after the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian, *circ. A.D. 296—301*, each of the fifteen dioceses of the empire had its own special mint and *procurator monetæ* as follows:

1. Orientis	mint A	=Antiochia.
2. Aegypti	„ ALE	=Alexandria.
3. Asiana	„ KV	=Kyzieus.
4. Pontica	„ N	=Nicomedia.
5. Thraciarum	„ HT	=Heraclea Thracum.
6. Macedoniae	„ TS	=Thessalonica.
7. Daciae	„ SD	=Serdica.
8. Italiae	„ AQ	=Aqileia.
9. Urbis Romæ	„ ROM or R	=Roma.
10. Pannionarum or Illyrici	„ SC or SIS	=Siscia.
11. Africæ	„ K	=Karthago.
12. Hispaniae	„ T	=Tarraco.
13. Galliarum	„ TR	=Treveri.
14. Viennensis	„ L or LG	=Lugudunum.
15. Britanniac	„ L	=Londinium.

The coins of Carausius and Allectus struck in Britain with the mint-mark C, standing for Camulodunum, belong to the period before A.D. 296. When the coinage was reorganized by

Dicletian the mint of Camulodnum appears to have been abolished.

2. Th. Mommsen. Equitius. This paper must be read in connection with Missong's article in *Num. Zeit.* 1873, p. 102, on the meaning of the letters occurring on coins of the Emperor Probus struck at Rome and Tarraco. According to Mommsen, these letters A, E, Q, V, I, T, I, &c., distributed on different specimens in conjunction with marks of value, conceal the name of the official who superintended the coinage under Probus, viz. Aequitius or Equitius.

3. M. Schmidt. On the meaning of the letters ΝΚΛΞC on Roman gold coins struck at Nicomedia. The writer suggests that this curious combination of letters may stand for the words *Nicomedensi lege valente XC* = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Nicomedian gold pound. Prof. Mommsen, on the other hand, p. 243, note 1, quotes the description as equivalent to Νικομηδεία lux C[ivitatum]. Some remarks upon this singular legend will be found in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. VI., p. 281, which suggest still another interpretation.

4. J. N. Svoronos. On the Cretan coin with the legend ΜΩΔΑΙΩΝ. These rare didrachmas, *obv.* Head of Zeus, *rev.* Bull's head facing, must have been struck in the earlier half of the fourth century at an unknown town called Modaia, which is probably identical with the present village of Mode, in the neighbourhood of Polyrhenium.

5. H. Buchenau. On coins of the Provosts of Wildeshausen (Oldenburg) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

6. H. Dannenberg. On three finds of tenth and eleventh century German coins.

7. K. E. H. Krause. On the Frisian words Tuna and Tahnbir.

8. H. Dannenberg. On the Ribnitz find, consisting chiefly of long-cross pennies of Henry III. of England.

9. U. Wilcken. On the current value of the Egyptian drachm in the middle of the third century A.D.

10. U. Wilcken. On the titles of Vabalathns on Syrian and Alexandrian coins, viz. VCRIMDR = V[ir] C[lariissimus] R[ex] IM[perator] D[ux] R[omanorum] and YACP or YAYTCPΩ = Y[πατερός] Aύτ[οκράτωρ] C[τραπηγός] Ρω[μαιών].
B. V. H.

MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF ROMAN COINS ON GREAT ORME'S HEAD.—A short time ago Mr. Thomas Kendrick, the proprietor of a small museum and camera obscura on Great Orme's Head, while engaged upon an alteration of the roadway, came upon what he believes to have been an ancient fire-place, near which, embedded in the clay, were seventeen Roman coins with one piece of pottery. The coins, which have been kindly forwarded to me by Dr. H. Thomas, of Llandudno, may be thus described:—

GALLIENUS, A.D. 253—263.

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

MINT.

1. GALLIENVS . P. F. AVG.
Bust r., radiate.

- GER[MA]NICOVS MAXV.
Trophy, on either side of
which a captive . . . Gaul?

VICTORINUS, A.D. 265—267.

2. IMP. C. VICTORINVS P.F. AVG.
Bust r., radiate.

- SALVS AVG. Salus stand-
ing l., holding sceptre and
patera, towards which a
serpent rises from an altar
in front of Salus . . . Gaul.

3. Do.

- SALVS AVG. Salus stand-
ing r., feeding serpent
from patera . . . Gaul.

TETRICUS, A.D. 267—273.

4. TETRICVS P. F. AVG.
Bust r., radiate.

- PAX AVG. Pax standing
l., holding olive-branch
and sceptre . . . Gaul.

CARAUSIUS, A.D. 287—293.

5. IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG.
Bust r., radiate.

- A DVX (*sic*).
Fortuna Redux seated l.,
holding rudder and cornu-
copiae. Wheel beneath
her seat.
No mint letters.

6. Do.

- HELERITAS AVG (*sic*).
Hilaritas standing r.,
holding branch and cornu-
copiae.

In field, F—O.
In ex., ML . . . London.

7. Do.

- [MAR]S VICTOR. Mars
walking r., holding
trophy and spear.
No mint letters?

	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	MINT.
8.	IMP. C. CARAVSIVS . P. F. AVG. Bust r., radiate.	PAX AVG. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. No mint letters.	
9.	IMP. CARAVSIVS . P. F. AVG. Bust r., radiate.	PAX AVG. Pax standing l., holding branch and spear, and with shield on ground behind her. In field, B—E. In ex., ML? London.	
10.	Do.	[PA]X AVG. Pax stand- ing l., holding branch and sceptre. In field, F—O. In ex. ?	
11.	Do.	Do. Small size. In field, F—O.	
12.	Do.	PAX AVG. Pax as above. In field, F—O. In ex., ML. London.	
13.	Do.	PAX AVG. Pax as above. In field, F—Q. In ex., ML. London.	
14.	Do.	PAX AVG. Pax as above. In field, L. In ex., ML. London.	
15.	IMP CARAVSIVS P. AVG. Bust r., radiate.	PAX AVG. Pax as above. In ex., C. Camulodunum.	
16.	IMP. C. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Bust r., radiate.	PAX AVG. Pax as above. In field, S—C. In ex., C. Camulodunum.	
17.	IMP CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG. Bust r., radiate.	PROVIDENT. AVG. Pro- videntia standing l., hold- ing globe and transverso sceptre. In field, B—E. In ex., [ML]XXI. . . . London.	

B. V. HEAD.

VIII.

JEWISH COINS.

IN submitting the following translation of an article written by the learned Dr. Graetz, of Breslau, our chief living authority on Jewish history, and on all that pertains to it, I add no comment or criticism of my own. The article was written for the purpose of being read by its author at one of the meetings lately held in connection with the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition. At this Exhibition selections of ancient Jewish coins were sent from all the principal collections, always excepting those of the British Museum, which, under its rules and regulations, could not be lent for that purpose, but were, by the kindness of the authorities, exhibited separately at the same time within the precincts of the Museum. I was entrusted with the pleasurable task of cataloguing and of writing a short account of these coins in the official catalogue of the Exhibition, and hence my having been authorised by Dr. Gractz at the same time to translate his contribution. I may fairly ask some of our friends who have made a special study of the coins of the period referred to by him to give their views on the subject of the propositions which he has enunciated.

H. MONTAGU.

ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE JEWISH COINS
WITH THE LULAB (PALM-BRANCHES) AND
PORTAL.

By DR. GRAETZ.

JEWISH numismatics—for there are such—bear eloquent testimony to the struggles and victories of the Jewish people from the Maccabean period until, perhaps, after the destruction of the Second Temple. The coins which come within the scope of this study are invaluable records, inasmuch as they not only faithfully represent historical facts connected with personages and events, but also reflect, without distortion, their sense and importance. In addition to this, such of them as bear dates furnish fixed and certain aids to chronology.

For two centuries those who presided over the Jewish mints issued coins with Hebrew legends for current use; Simon Maccabaeus and his successors, the Asmonaean princes and kings, in the beginning, and, afterwards, various eminent personages at the time of the defection from Rome and of the great war under Vespasian, and perhaps even in later times. These last come under the denomination of coins of the Revolts. All these coins have acquired so great an importance that historians whose work extends over the period of their issue study them, and are compelled to study them, and the public museums of all European States have zealously devoted their energies towards the acquisition of genuine specimens, for which payment is at times made to the extent of a thousandfold their intrinsic value. Jewish numismatics have at the present day become the subject of a study of itself.

It is interesting to trace how this branch of archaeology

has from rudiments originally so slight attained the importance now attributed to it. It was always known in Jewish circles that there were once Jewish coins with Hebrew inscriptions and with lettering similar to the Samaritan characters. Maimuni saw some of these in Egypt in the twelfth century. When Machmani was exiled, and sought an asylum in Palestine owing to the persecution of the Dominicans, he found, on his arrival at Acre in the year 1267, shekels and half shekels in the possession of the Jews there settled. This did not in the least astonish him; he was more interested in considering the question whether their weight was in harmony with the declarations of the Talmud. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century Moses Alaschkar saw, in Tunis, several similar specimens in silver and copper, and with varied types and legends. He was also informed that three or four examples in gold, of the extraordinary value of six ducats each, were in the possession of a certain magnate there. In the same century the existence of similar pieces with the so-called Samaritan lettering was not unknown to the Jews in Italy. No one, however, devoted any attention to them, or seemed to have any knowledge of their historical value. Neither did the savants in Christian circles devote much more attention to Jewish numismatics even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although Hebrew literature and archaeological studies were then fostered and led to fame, and although a considerable number of specimens of this class of coins had been brought together and were accessible in public and private collections. Many Orientalists doubted their genuineness, owing to their peculiar striking and lettering, and considered them to be fabrications of astute dealers in Jerusalem or Italy, and bestowed more atten-

tion upon the formation of the letters than upon the importance of the legends.

It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that the study of Jewish numismatics was treated with more consideration and zeal, and thereby attained the rank of a study in itself. A Spanish priest with a German patronymic, the Archdeacon of Valencia, Francisco Perez Bayer, gave to it a lasting impulse. His treatise, *De numis Hebraeo-Samaritanis* (1781), to which he added drawings of a substantial number of different specimens, marked an era in this branch of archaeology chiefly owing to the opposition which he at first experienced.

Tychsen, a German professor of Rostock, who had learnt Hebrew from the heretical Rabbi, Jonathan Eibeschütz, of Altona, and who wished to utilise this knowledge for the conversion of the Jews, maintained, without any valid reason, that all the specimens preserved as such rare treasures in public museums and private collections were the productions of forgers in Palestine or Italy. It was, however, just this dogmatical opinion (behind which lurked his own idiosyncrasy), and the manner also in which he treated the honourable and well-informed Buyer, that awakened interest in the study of Jewish numismatics, and its defender, Bayer, in his reply, *Vindicia Numorum Hebraeo-Samaritanorum* (1790), produced more evidence as to the genuineness of the coins, and published several more specimens, which he had discovered on his journey through Spain. Numismatists of authority confirmed his arguments. The venerable French archaeologist, Jean Jacques Barthélémy, whose opinion was of importance, remarked, "Si l'on doutait de leur authenticité (des médailles hébreo-samaritaines) il faudrait douter de celles des médailles grecques et

romaines." The most celebrated numismatist of that time, Joseph Eckhel, of Vienna, treated of the Jewish coins in his great work, *Doctrina Numorum* (1794), and entirely disposed of Tychsen by his superior authority. In the meanwhile, owing to the French Revolution and the great wars, the study of Jewish numismatics made no progress for a long time. It was only in the middle of the present century that it gained further strength and elucidation. M. de Saulcy, a captain of artillery, mainly contributed to this. Entrusted with the task of writing the history of the Jewish nation before and after the second destruction of Jerusalem, and full of love for his subject, and especially for Judaism, as he averred in *Les derniers jours de Jérusalem*, he was so fortunate on his journey through Palestine as to obtain a large collection of Jewish coins. His work *Recherches sur la Numismatique judaïque* (1854) marked a second epoch in the treatment of this subject. On the one hand he excited emulation in connection with his acquisition of such genuine coins, inasmuch as he at the same time furnished proofs of their genuineness; and on the other hand he advanced the cause of original research into the history of the Jews from the Maccabean era until the time of Hadrian, this being found indispensable to a proper understanding of the coins. In the same way as, formerly, theologians sought to verify the chronology of the New Testament by reference to historical records and to Jewish literature generally, so were the same sources of knowledge now examined by those learned in the matter in the interests of Jewish numismatics. The Talmud, hitherto a sealed book, not to say an object of abhorrence so far as Christian savants were concerned, was now honoured by being called into the councils of the investigators, to throw, if possible, some light upon

obscure numismatic points. To this also De Sauley gave an impetus, and he thoreby showed his right appreciation of the subject. For, in fact, without a knowledge of the hints which are given, or, perhaps rather, let fall undesignedly, and, therefore, all the more credibly, in the Talmud with respect to the customs and events connected with the actual life of the time in which the coins originate, or are said to originate, the history of that epoch is not altogether intelligible.

The evidences of Josephus, notwithstanding their great worth, might excite some suspicion, owing to the fact that out of consideration for his Greek and Roman readers, he either wilfully or unintentionally effaced the original colouring as being too glaring for such readers. Much less information is on purely secular matters afforded by the Gospels, with their epics, dialogues, and monologues. For, independently of the fact that these are not contemporaneous, the circle from whom they originate held aloof from public life, and despised it too much to understand it. "*Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*" is a sentence which reflects clearly the Ebionitic conception of Mammon or of money. On the other hand, the Talmudic literature gives a faithful representation of the different aspects of public life within the cycle to which these coins belong, and to which, therefore, numismatic science must have regard: It is proposed to demonstrate in the following pages how certain casual expressions in the Talmud with reference to ancient customs indisputably elucidate an obscure point in Jewish numismatics. Although all difficulties connected with that portion which relates to the Maccabaean period have for the most part been dissipated, there still exists a difference of opinion concerning that portion of which the chronological position and date are not clearly defined.

There is especially a great controversy as to the class of coins upon which the name of Simon more or less distinctly appears. Some numismatists identify this Simon with the elder or younger Simon Ben Gamaliel (of Hillel descent), the latter being the grandson of the former, or to some extent also with Simon Bar-Gioras, the wild hero of the zealots; others ascribe the coins of this class, or a section of them, to the heroic Simon Bar-Cochab, who, in the time of Hadrian, kept the Roman legions at bay for three years. There are some pieces, too, which are called Eleazar coins. There is a controversy also as to these. Some attribute them to Eleazar, a leader of the zealots during the revolt of the Jews against the Romans, but, on the other hand, De Sauley refers them to the little-known Eleazar of Modin, a Hagadist. It has, in short, been found impracticable hitherto to decide with any degree of certainty which coins belong to the first and which to the second Revolt, notwithstanding the amount of discussion that has taken place.

There is a series of coins also concerning which the same doubts have arisen, and which are called "lulab" pieces. They are all of almost identical types, but their legends differ. The types are of the following varieties, viz., on the one side is a bundle of branches better known by the name of a lulab (composed of a long palm-branch between two shorter ones of myrtle and willow), and near it is the representation of a fruit which is rightly considered to be the etron or ethrog, and is inseparably connected with the lulab. On the other side of these pieces the type is that of a portal or colonnade; four columns with an architrave, and other ornamentations above. This tetra-style portal is not, however, struck in identically the same manner on all the pieces, but exhibits several variations in form. The legends on these lulab pieces differ

still more. One kind distinctly bears on the lulab side the words, "First Year of the Deliverance of Israel" (בָּשְׁתַ אֶחָת לְנַצְּלָת יִשְׂרָאֵל), and on the portal side, on both sides of the columnus and over the architrave, the word, "Jerusalem" (יְרוּשָׁלָם), but no proper name.

Several pieces, on the contrary, have on the lulab side the legend, "The second year of the freedom of Israel" (בָּשְׁבָע לְחֻרְבָּת יִשְׂרָאֵל) and on the portal side, similarly to the last, "Jerusalem," also without any proper name. Others, again, have more or less distinctly on the portal side the name of "Simon" instead of Jerusalem. Finally, a third or fourth kind has on the lulab side the words, "On the freedom of Jerusalem" (לְחֻרְבָּת יְרוּשָׁלָם in full) but not the year of striking, and on the portal side the name "Simon."

What makes the exact chronological attribution of this class of coins so doubtful is the circumstance that on some specimens traces of the head of an emperor, or Greek letters, occur—in one case the termination **NOC**, and one has somewhat distinctly, in Greek lettering, an abbreviation of the name Titus Flavius Vespasianus. These specimens are, therefore, *surfrappé* coins—that is to say, that over Greek imperial coins of Vespasian, Domitian or Trajan, the impression of a Jewish coin has been struck, as is the case with other coins, which clearly show, under the Jewish striking, the full name of Trajan with his titles.

Now Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor in July, A.D. 69, during the Jewish war. He only arrived at Rome A.D. 70. His first coin, therefore, could only at the very earliest have been struck in this year. Is it to be said that the besieged in Jerusalem had already become possessed of coins of Vespasian a few months before the

destruction of the city, and had impressed upon them Jewish devices and inscriptions? This is scarcely credible. But assume for one moment that these were coins of Trajan. It would be more readily conceded that this surfrappage had taken place much later, during the second Revolt. At all events, therefore, these pieces upon which the surfrappage is visible would belong to the period of Bar-Cochab. As then the similarity of the types points to a contemporaneous date, the class of lulab coins must also, one and all, belong to the same period. De Saulcy arrives at this conclusion, though not by the same method of reasoning. He claims that this class, as also many others, belong to the second Revolt, and the occurrence on some of the pieces of this class of the name "Simon" appears to support his attribution. Other numismatists, particularly Merzbacher and Madden, do not concur in this result. The former attributes the types with the dates "first and second year" (Figs. 1, 2, 3)¹ to the first, and those without date (Figs. 4, 5, 6), to the second Revolt. Madden attributes Type I. only to the first Revolt. Another class of coins gives rise to similar differences of opinion on the part of these authorities. The Eleazar coins belong most probably to the first Revolt; and these also have the date "First year of the freedom of Israel," the same as one kind of the lulab coins. The latter kind, at all events, therefore belong also to the period of the first Revolt. In short, the most eminent numismatists move in a circle in their attempts to fix the date of this class of coins.

To find a way out of the difficulty a fresh path must be

¹ Plate VI., in illustration of this translation, is an exact copy, with all faults, of that which accompanied Dr. Graetz's original paper, but the module of the coins has, in the process of reproduction, been slightly diminished.

struck. In the next place, the exact significance of the types and legends must be ascertained. For the lulab and portal, which all coins of that class have in common, are striking enough, and must have originated from ascertainable sources. The most obvious meaning of the lulab is given by the numismatic writers : "The type of these shekels—the ethrog and lulab—reminded the Jews of the Feast of Tabernacles." (Madden.) It should be added that they are represented as they were accustomed to be held during the recital of the psalms contained in the prayer of the Hallel in connection with which they were used, the lulab to the right, and the ethrog to the left. The numismatists have, however, omitted to notice a slight detail which is visible in connection with the form of the lulab. On all the coins the latter, with the small twigs appertaining to it, is depicted as being in an ornamented receptacle. This has the appearance of a chalice. It is clearly an embellishment. What then is the meaning of this embellishment or receptacle ? The Talmud at once clears up the difficulty.

Rabbi Meir states quite casually that the men of position in Jerusalem carried their lulab in a small golden basket. The bundle of palm, myrtle, and willow-branches, according to the laws of the ritual, was obliged to be bound together at the ends. Now Rabbi Meir, in opposition to the assertion that the connecting band must be in the nature of vegetable fibre, refers to the fact that the leading inhabitants of Jerusalem did not observe that custom, but effected the binding together by means of a small golden basket. His Halachic adversary concedes that fact, but gives it as his opinion that the bundle was connected together by bands of thread inside the basket. It may, in addition, be remarked that Rabbi Meir, as a disciple of Rabbi Akiba, may have received from him



I



2



3



4

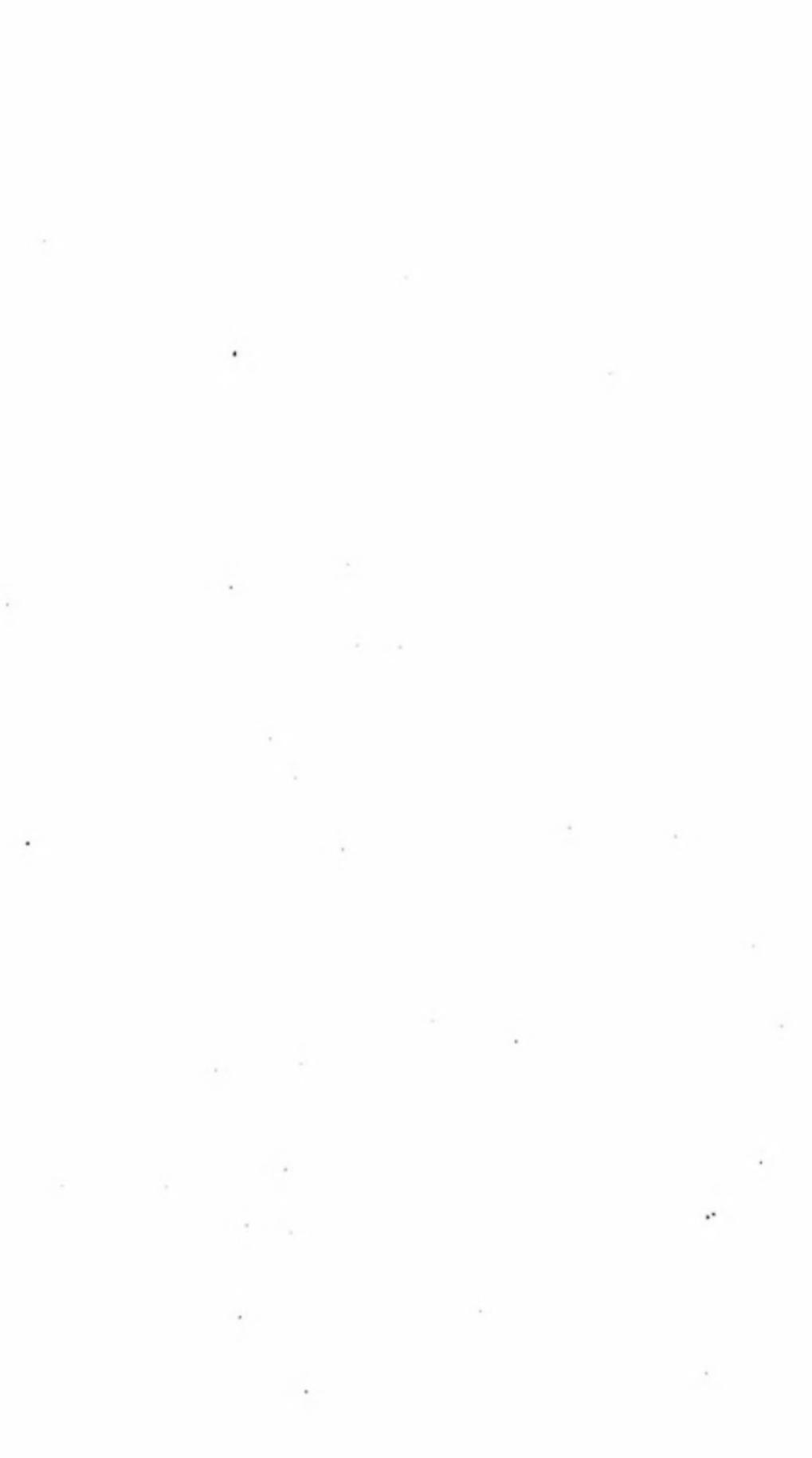


5



6

JEWISH "LULAB" AND "PORTAL" COINS.



traditions on the subject of the customs and usages in Jerusalem; for the latter was of an advanced age at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Let us now consider the meaning of the tradition concerning this gold lulab basket. The custom was not in vogue during the lifetime of Rabbi Meïr, but only previously thereto, during the existence of Jerusalem. This somewhat unorthodox custom, also, did not prevail outside Jerusalem. It happened, therefore, that it was in Jerusalem alone that a display was made with the lulab. They not only made use of it in the Temple, and in the house of prayer when the Hallel psalms were recited, but it was seldom out of their hands during the day. The Talmud contains a tradition which has a bearing upon this also. The rich and those who were of note in Jerusalem, to make a show of their lulab, adorned it with a gold basket; they could not grudge themselves this luxury.

Regarding now the receptacle in which the lulab is placed on the type of the lulab coins, can there be any doubt but that it represents this very basket? It appears to be ribbed and twisted like a basket; it can clearly be called a basket. It has a foot or a handle by which it can be held, and two or three openings. The lulab-bundle on the coins is depicted in the same manner as the men of rank in Jerusalem used to hold and display it. It requires no further argument on that subject to make it clear that these coins could only have been struck during the existence of Jerusalem; and as the custom of depositing the lulab in a basket did not prevail subsequently, the later moneyers would not have taken it into their heads to depict bundles in that shape. That shape it is evident could not have been in vogue at the time of Bar Cochab, as Rabbi Meïr, who was then living, refers to the custom as having been one existing in earlier times, and which, therefore,

was not practised in his own time. It can also scarcely be argued that the receptacle in which the lulab is depicted on the coin-types is only an embellishment, and this is all it could have been if it had been met with in the ordinary course as a kind of ornamental basket-work. I dwell somewhat upon this circumstance as it constitutes the centre of gravity for the chronological attribution of the lulab coins.

Let us now consider the reverses of these pieces. They clearly bear only the representation of a portal, always with two columns on each side, and generally with an architrave.

Numismatists are as wanting in unanimity on the subject of this type as they are unanimous with regard to the lulab and the ethrog at its left-hand. Perez-Bayer maintains that the portal is a representation of the Mausoleum which Simon Maccabaeus (or rather his son) caused to be erected in memory of the Asmonaean family in Modin. This explanation has been rightly rejected, inasmuch as most examples of this class bear the name of Jerusalem. It was also interpreted as depicting the Ark of the Covenant, which is somewhat paradoxical, as in post-exile times the ark and its form were utterly unknown. Other numismatists have been willing to see in it the form of the Temple, or of the entrance to the Temple. (*Cavedoni, Levy, Merzbacher.*) But this interpretation can scarcely be correct, as the Temple of the time of the Herods had no ornamentation of columns at the entrance; and it can still less be regarded as a gate, inasmuch as the opening is in a certain measure barricaded by a three-barred decoration. Merzbacher for that reason denominates the emblem as a closed gate. But a closed gate affords no entrance, and therefore it cannot symbolize

the gate of the Temple. What then is the meaning of the portal side of these lulab coins?

It must be remembered that on the other side the lulab is represented *optimè informè* to the right, bound up with the two other branches; on the left the ethrog fruit, and in addition an embellishment to the bundle, as must have occurred in actual use. What deeper significance has this type?

It is a great departure from the emblems which occur on most of the Jewish coins. These latter, such as the palm-tree, or palm-leaf, or the vine, are symbols representing the Holy Land or the Jewish people. What meaning, however, was there in the striking of a lulab on coins? It was, without encumbering the argument with subtleties, simply and solely intended to commemorate the Festival of Succoth (Tabernacles), and beyond this the period of this festival, which was celebrated by means of two several ritual symbols, the branches of four kinds of plants (**ארבע מינים**), and the lightly constructed Festival Tabernacle (**סוכה**). If this festival is to be typically depicted it should be represented in both of these aspects, not only by means of the lulab, but also by means of the tabernacle. The portal, therefore, represents the façade of the Festival Tabernacle, not, of course, that of the very first or best description, but, as in the case of the lulab, that of a Jew in a superior position, who has made a parade of it as with the lulab. It must have been a tabernacle of elegant construction.

As a matter of fact, tabernacles of this elegance of construction, with columns, did actually occur. In Talmudical literature mention is made of one of these surrounded on all sides by columns, and that these columns were regarded as being in accordance with the ritual as

representing walls, and the whole building considered to be an orthodox form of the Festival Tabernacle. The example is certainly borrowed from actual reality. Many a man of position has used as a Sukka (Festival Tabernacle) the *περίστυλον* in the court-yard of his house, furnished with a roof consisting of a light covering of leaves. It is stated of the proselyte of Adiabene, Queen Helena, who in 48 A.D. had come to Jerusalem with her grandchildren in order to give them a Jewish education, that she caused to be built for herself a very noble Festival Tabernacle. It is difficult to imagine that its walls were of massive construction, as this could scarcely have been tolerated, having regard to the high temperature at this festival time. The tabernacle would, with greater probability, have been built so as to secure a large access of fresh air, and the queen, who spoke Greek, no doubt would also have had a taste for the light airy Greek style of building, and her tabernacle was doubtless, therefore, ornamented with columns, at all events so far as the façade was concerned, which, according to the ritual, need not be a wall. A Festival Tabernacle with a façade of columns, such as was in use among people of position in Jerusalem, certainly served as a model for the type of this series of coins. It formed the complement to the lulab, which, as we have proved, was used for show.

Now, regarding the portal with the tetrastyle as the representation of a decoratively constructed Festival Tabernacle, we shall also find on the portal on these coins a trifling detail, little regarded heretofore by numismatists, but which has its signification. Upon most specimens there is introduced into the cavity of the portal a semicircle of little rings, and upon this semicircle are three lines, upon which may be observed little globules, those

in the middle smaller than those above or below. These beaded lines can only be of the nature of an ornamentation, and this again can be explained by a reference to Talmudical literature. It was the custom to decorate the Festival Tabernacles with strings of nuts or almonds, grapes, or wreaths consisting of ears of corn. This decoration has a technical term applied to it, *כוי הרככה*, i.e. the ornament of the Tabernacle. The ritual law provided that such a decoration when once added to the Tabernacle should not be eaten or made use of until after the expiration of the festival.

The semicircles and the lines with little rings or globules on the portals represented on the coins are only to be regarded as decorations of the Festival Tabernacle. The portal is, therefore, not closed at the bottom, but it exhibits a decoration in accordance with the custom in connection with Festival Tabernacles; and it is therefore in no wise to be considered as a colonnade of a temple, but only as a representation of the Festival Tabernacle of a man of rank or position who decorated the subject matter of his ritual duty, in the same manner as the lulab is provided with an ornament. Both types on the coins, the lulab on the one side and the decorative façade of the Festival Tabernacle on the other, together serve to represent the Festival of Tabernacles. These symbols of the festival have a deeper meaning still, and one which the types on the coins were intended to represent. The lulab reminds us of rejoicings; as we read in the Law, "You shall take of the fruit of the tree Hadar and palm-branches, &c., and shall rejoice before the Lord."

The Second Book of the Maccabees, in fact, relates that at the consecration of the Temple by the Maccabees, palm-branches, and especially lulabs, were, as a sign of rejoicing,

swung to the tune of the hymns.² It being granted that the lulab symbolises a joyful mood, it may likewise be taken that the Festival Tabernacle records another train of thought, namely, God's protection of his people. The Law distinctly lays down, in its prescription for the abode in tents or tabernacles during this festival, that it should be remembered at this period how the Lord protected our forefathers in the wilderness. The verse Isaiah vi. 17, וְסֹכָה, &c., has made this line of thought plainer still, and in later times it was so extended as to render the Festival Tabernacle a protection against all ill-doers, and even against evil demons.³ There was a reason, therefore, on the part of the engravers of this series of coins in choosing the emblems discussed by us. They were intended to represent the rejoicings over their acquisition, and at the same time confidence in the protection of His people by the Lord. The types, therefore, indicate the frame of mind of the people, and the legends give the facts and the dates which brought it into play. "The first year of the freedom of Israel," "The second year of the freedom of Israel," compress into a very small compass a subject rich with historical interest, and arising at a time when Jerusalem was still independent. Although the legend יְרוּשָׁלָם on the lulab coins sufficiently points to this conclusion, it is established with still greater force by the decoration on the bundle of leaves, the basket-shaped tress-work, which represents the golden basket of the upper classes of Jerusalem.

Here, however, we have to surmount a somewhat serious difficulty. Although on the one hand it is certain that the basket ornamentation points to the independence of Jerusalem, and that therefore the lulab coins must have been

² 2 Maccab. x., 6, 7.

³ Pesikta, R. Kahana, ed. Buber, p. 187, &c. זִיקָן שָׁלָא.

struck before the destruction, it is equally certain, on the other hand, that they must be attributed to some period after the destruction, if regard is to be had to the traces which occur on some of these coins of the bust of a Roman emperor, and to the name in distinct characters of one of those emperors. The view taken by Dr. Merzbacher, and partly also by Madden, that some examples of these belong to the first and others to the second Revolt is altogether untenable. It were better to fully concur in the decision of Von Sallet which he expresses concerning the Simon coins as a whole: "It is unexampled and impossible, in connection with ancient numismatics, that coins which absolutely resemble each other in style, and can even be readily confused the one with the other, should be separated in point of time by a period of sixty years."⁴ Therefore all the lulab coins must, according to our author, belong to the time of Bar-Cochab. This theory, however, cannot be right, since the emblem which represents the custom of the nobility in Jerusalem proves them to be of a time before Bar-Cochab. How then shall we escape this dilemma? Only by dealing with the matter in the most critical manner. All those examples, the legends upon which indicate an epoch after the destruction, and which are in addition of an extremely suspicious nature, must be the fabrications of a forger. But an imitation presupposes an original. There must, therefore, have been genuine lulab coins which served as patterns to the forger, and these genuine pieces were certainly of the time before the fall of Jerusalem. I always return to that point, because it was only during the independence of the capital that the decoration of the basket-shaped tress-work could have been designed.

⁴ *Zeitschr. für Numism.* v. 113.

Those examples only are genuine which give a date, "first and second year of the deliverance, or of the freedom of Israel," but which have not the name of the ruler who struck them. Those kinds, also, which have the date and the name of Simon may also be genuine. The trace of the emperor's bust which may be observed upon one example need not discredit its authenticity, it may be the head of Nero; and so also NO in large letters upon one example of the second year without "Simon" does not make it a suspected piece, as it is possibly part of the termination of ΝΕΡΩΝΟC, and the coin may be struck over one of Nero. But certainly those pieces are not genuine which have the absurd legend "The freedom of Jerusalem," and not לחרות ישראל; and also the piece which, instead of ותשלם, distinctly has ח, being at some distance from it, and the Samaritan ח being clumsily formed with three little limbs instead of, as is usual throughout, with two (Fig. VI.). The example, which is struck over a coin issued after Nero, must especially be considered to be false.

Treating the lulab coins which have a date as genuine, it must be observed that their legends bear upon historical events, upon matters of fact at the time of the Revolt from Rome under Nero, in the same way as their types, the lulab and façade of the tabernacle, represent the sentiments of the people at that period. The difference between לנטלה and לחרות is particularly noteworthy. The former signifies "Deliverance," i.e. the beginning of the liberation from foreign rule; לחרות, on the other hand, signifies "Freedom," i.e. the continuance of the liberation achieved. It marks a further stage in the desired independence. To לנטלה belongs שנת אחת, and to לחרות the date "שנה ב." There is, therefore, no

coin to be found which has the legend שָׁנָת א' לְחִרּוֹת or שָׁנָת ב' לְטַלֵּת. A published piece belonging to Reichardt, which has the latter legend, was rightly condemned as false by Levy, De Sauley, and Madden (Madden, *Numism. Orient.* II. 236, No. 10). The example of a lulab coin which bears the legend שָׁנָת אֶחָת לְנַאֲלֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל (Fig. I), was certainly struck during the first period of the Revolt from Rome, and with equal certainty at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, as is proved by the types. In point of chronology this thoroughly agrees with the historical events in the beginning of the Revolt as they are narrated by Josephus. On the day of the Festival of the Boughs, the 15th day of the month Ab,⁵ the Roman cohorts stationed in the citadel (Aera) under the Tribune Metilius, and Agrippa's troop under the leadership of the Babylonian Philip, were so hard pressed by the Zealots that they were compelled to seek refuge and entrench themselves in Herod's Palace on the Market Place. On the 6th Gorpiaios, i.e. 6th Elul, the Zealots allowed Agrippa's host to withdraw and continued the conflict with the Roman cohorts. Then these capitulated and were cut to pieces, with the exception of Metilius, who went over to Judaism. From that time the people of Jerusalem felt themselves free from the foreign yoke. The day and month of this victory are, it is true, not given by Josephus, but the commemorative scroll for the day in question (*Megillath Taanit*) briefly declares "on the 17th Elul, the Romans were driven out of Jerusalem and Judah." The rejoicings at this victory were so great,

⁵ Josephus' Declaration (*Jew. Chr.* II. 7, 7, 8) that the Festival of the Boughs was observed on the 14th Ab rests upon a slip of memory. The Talmud is more accurate, and so often speaks of the Festival as occurring on the 15th Ab.

that the whole of the inhabitants of the not unimportant city of Lydda repaired to Jerusalem for the Tabernacle Festival.⁶

The inhabitants of other neighbouring cities probably betook themselves to the capital at the same time in order to take part in the triumph over the Romans. The rejoicings were universal. It was only after this victory that they could proceed to strike their own coins. This occurred in the month of Tishri, which, according to the calendar in those times, commenced the year. The legend naturally was, "In the first year of the liberation of Israel," and "Jerusalem," which was the essence of all sanctity, and the object of all reverence on the part of the whole nation. But what types were to be selected for the new coins? As the striking of them did not commence long before the Feast of Tabernacles, it was natural that resort should be had to the symbols of this festival, viz., the lulab and the tabernacle. Both were represented with their most beautiful attributes, the lulab with the decorations of the basket tress-work as it used to be borne by the higher ranks in Jerusalem, and the tabernacle also after an agreeable pattern, the façade being depicted with columns and architrave and with the ornamentation of the lines of circles, the pictorial representation of strings of nuts, almonds, or other fruits. It was sought to represent at one and the same time the rejoicings over the victory and the liberation from the Romans by means of the lulab, and the hope for God's further protection by means of the symbol of the Sukka (tabernacle). These were no doubt the motives which

⁶ Josephus, *Jew. Chr.* II. 29, 1, διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐορτὴν ἀναβεβήκει πὰν τὸ πλῆθος (τῆς πόλεως Λυδδα) εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

influenced those who were engaged in the striking of the first Liberation Coins.

Who was at that time the ruler who struck these pieces? The fact that the coins of the first year bear no name is full of significance, for this omission proves that the coins were struck at a time when none of the prominent individuals who had contributed to the Revolt from Rome had as yet attained any position of authority. It was the honeymoon of Freedom in its youth. The Sanhedrin, with Simon Ben-Gamaliel at its head, had no political privileges, only rights of legislation in connection with religious matters, "et inter arma silent leges." There are other coins with the legend, "First year of the Liberation" which were certainly coined in the same year, particularly the Eleazar coins before mentioned. These must have been struck later at the time when the bearer of this name was at the head of affairs in Jerusalem. They, therefore, also bear other types than the lulab coins; they have no connection with the Festival of Tabernacles.

Those examples of the lulab coins which have the legend "The second year of the Freedom of Israel" (as Fig. II.), differ though but little from the type of the first Year in the ornamentations on the lulab basket, and to some extent also in the beaded lines on the portal. They must, however, have been struck at the time of the first Revolt, and in fact during the month of the Festival of Tabernacles (about October, 67 A.D.). If also there be any example of this type which bears the Greek NO, that circumstance in no wise proves that they are struck over coins of Vespasian. As I have already stated, this can be amplified to [ΝΕΡΩ]NO[C] (in the genitive). Large coins of Nero were still known in

Palestine (מלכ נירונית).⁷ Much more surely does the presence of the ornamental basket on the lulab bundle point to the time before the destruction of Jerusalem. Madden and others, therefore, erroneously attribute the coins with the legend "The second year" to the time of the second Revolt.

There are, however, two varieties of this type, one with, and the other without, the name of "Simon." According to the acceptance of many numismatists, this name of Simon refers to the President of the Sanhedrin, Simon Ben-Gamaliel, whose name שמעון נשיא ישראל more or less distinctly occurs upon several copper coins. There was no other Simon who bore the title "Nasi" (Prince) in existence at that time. As one of these varieties has round the name a wreath, the upper part of which is fastened with some gem, and on the other side within the inscription שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל; another also being known with the same types (only with some letters effaced), and the Berlin Cabinet possesses a coin which has the same types, but with לחר שׂב round the Diota, and within the wreath the name שמעון only (Merzbacher in Von Sallet I. 232 *et seq.*), there remains no doubt that this name of Simon can also only refer to Simon Ben-Gamaliel.

Another proof that שמעון can plainly be considered to be identical with נשיא ישראל may also be gathered from the so-called Eleazar coins, for there are examples of these which distinctly have on the one side אלעזר הכהן or the letters struck from right to left זהב רזעלא (by a mistake of the engraver), and on the other side שנת אחת לנאלת ישראל. No numis-

⁷ *Kelim*, 17, 12, and parallel passages.

matist has disputed the authenticity of these coins. It is clear, therefore, that a priest named Eleazar caused coins to be struck in the first year of the Liberation (*i.e.* from the Romans).

This Eleazar was either Eleazar, the son of Ananias, who threw considerable energy into the Revolution, or more probably Eleazar, the son of Simon, who on the flight of the Romans and of their leader Cestius Gallus had the care of the treasures and military chest which had been wrested from them, and who especially had in his hands the management of the finances of the State. Although he was passed over at the commencement, when the election of rulers of the different districts took place, yet by degrees, and because he was the Controller of the Finances, he obtained the supremacy in Jerusalem.⁸

No other Eleazar is known who attained such eminence as to entitle him to strike coins. The theory advanced by De Sauley that the Eleazar in question may have been the Eleazar of Modin (ר' אלעזר המודע) mentioned in Talmudic literature, and of whom nothing further is known than that, during the siege of Bethar, he besought, in sackcloth and ashes, the aid of heaven, and was destroyed by Bar-Cochab through motives of jealousy, and that the Eleazar coins, therefore, belonged to the second Revolt, has received but little assent. The only author who agreed with it was Von Sallet,⁹ but his total ignorance of Talmudic literature scarcely enabled him to judge how little this Eleazar of Modin was fitted for the rôle of a ruler. In the absence of any coin of Eleazar

⁸ Josephus' account of this Eleazar is important in connection with the rivalry of the leaders of the revolution, *Jew. Chronicle* II. 20, 3, τὸν γὰρ τὸν Σίμωνος νιὸν Ἐλεάζαρον, καίπερ, &c.

⁹ *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, v. 113.

bearing evidence of being struck over other pieces, either at the time of Vespasian or afterwards, it must be agreed that these coins belong to the first Revolt. Their genuineness is at all events more certain than that of the bulk of the coins bearing the name of Simon, either with or without traces of overstriking, for the one reason only that the Judaeo-Samaritan letter τ occurs on no other coins, and therefore could not well be imitated.

If then these coins of Elcazar are genuine and were struck before the time of Vespasian, those pieces also are equally genuine and belong to the same time, which have on one side the word Eleazar round a vase, and on the other side שְׁמַעְיָן i.e. שְׁמַעְיָן within a wreath, with a gem; the exact type of the example which distinctly bears the legend יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶשֶׁמֶת.¹⁰ It is, therefore, proved by this that at least some coins which have the name "Simon" without any title, are likewise attributable to Simon Ben-Gamaliel. This is at all events true of the series which has as emblems the lulab and the tabernacle (Fig. III.). The more incontrovertible the weight of suspicion that the numerous coins bearing the name of Simon are forgeries, the more we are convinced that there must have been genuine coins with this superscription, and which served as patterns to the forgers. Notwithstanding the occurrence of a star upon the example in the Paris Cabinet which might engender some suspicion, this type with the name of "Simon" can be treated as

¹⁰ De Vogüé, who had only seen a cast of this coin, has doubted its genuineness, but Friedländer and Von Sallet, directors of the Berlin Cabinet, state that in that cabinet is a genuine example, and the one from which the cast was taken. The occurrence of the names Eleazar and Simon upon one and the same piece is attributed by numismatists to an error of the engraver.

genuine, as it bears more resemblance to the Types I. and II. than to the doubtful examples of Type IV. (Fig. IV.—VI.).

The result of the inquiry can now be summed up. It is ascertained that after the Maccabaeans series, there are some coins with the lulab which must be held to be genuine, viz., those with the type of the festival bunch and the façade of a tabernacle accompanied by certain ornamentations. For what coin-forger of the time when antiquities and old coins had acquired a value could have conceived the idea of providing a basket-shaped receptacle for the stems of the lulab? For the same reason, also, these must have been struck before the destruction of Jerusalem, at a time when this decoration was in use among the higher classes in Jerusalem, and could then only have served as a pattern to the die engraver. I repeat that they cannot be of a period after the destruction, because such an ornamentation was then no longer in practical use and was only remembered as a matter of tradition.

The first lulab coins with the portal façade which bear the legend, "First year of the Liberation of Israel," were struck shortly before the Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 66, after the victory over the Roman cohorts in Jerusalem, and when there ceased to be any Romans in the country except those at the Legionary station at Caesarea. The types chosen served as a symbol, both of rejoicing at this victory and of God's protection. There was at that time no individual person in power whose name could appear upon these coins as authorising their coinage. It was a period of transition.

In the course of the year 66, Eleazar Ben Simon, chief of the Zealots, obtained by means of their assistance the

possession of the State Treasury, and by means of his popularity, the ruling power in Jerusalem. The coins, therefore, which were issued at that time were struck in his name, "The Priest Eleazar," and "First year of the Deliverance of Israel."

But the Sanhedrin, of which Simon Ben-Gamaliel was President, also exercised authority in the same year. This Simon was, according to Josephus, his opponent, of a noble stock (great-grandson of Hillel, who appears to have been a descendant of the Royal House of David), and at the same time of such discernment and power of mind that he might have greatly improved the position of the affairs of the State if he could only have held absolute power.¹¹ As he also belonged to the party of Pharisees, as Josephus has recorded, or, as we are bound to say, was their chief, he must have had a considerable following among the people, the greater portion of whom held the doctrines of that party, a fact prominently set forth by Josephus in many passages of his work. It naturally followed that this Simon was regarded as the head and representative of the Commonwealth, and equally so that his name should appear as the coining authority upon the coins. Eleazar Ben Simon was obliged to retire to the background. We have no means of ascertaining the exact events which led up to this change, in connection with which coins were struck with the legend, "First year of the Liberation of Israel," and with the name "Simon, the Prince of Israel."

The high-sounding title of Prince of Israel appears, however, to have been distasteful to the Zealots, who had included in their programme and inscribed on their

¹¹ Josephus, *Vita*, 88.

standards, the democratic principle of equality and freedom from personal rule. For this Simon was after all only head of the Sanhedrin (דין הנדול נשיא כיהן); to recognise him as Prince of all Israel was to subject themselves to a ruler.

After Josephus had suffered the loss of Galilee owing to his want of judgment, cowardice, or treachery, and after other aristocratic leaders had been found wanting, the sensibilities of the democratic Zealots caused them to be especially enraged against the Jewish aristocracy. This opposition to any sovereignty over Israel appears to have brought about that the title נושא ישראָל was no longer allowed to be struck upon coins, and it gave way to the simple name שטען (as to the coin which has both Simon and Eleazar, see Von Sallet, 167). There is no other Simon in question, Simon Bar-Gioras being excluded owing to his only having been called in during the third year of the Revolt in Jerusalem.

The commencement of the second year was now approaching, *i.e.* the month Tishri and the Feast of Tabernacles (October, 67). Of this period occur only those coins which have the legend, "The Second year of the Liberation of Israel" (II. III.). The types of both are very similar, except that some specimens have only "Jerusalem" as a legend, and others the name of "Simon" instead. This difference is of course remarkable; for if at that time Simon Ben-Gamaliel still maintained his position, on what ground was his name passed over in another series? The cause may perhaps be traced to the party conflicts which broke out about this time. The Zealots in Jerusalem, who attributed the defeat in Galilee to the treachery of the aristocrats, removed the nobles and priests from the offices in the city and in the temple which

they had hitherto enjoyed, and appointed in their stead persons from their own ranks. They even divested the high-priest Matthias, son of Theophilus, of his dignity, and installed into it a simple priest, Phineas, son of Samuel, an inhabitant of the village Aphta, upon whom the choice had fallen by lot.¹² This produced a tumult among the aristocratic party. Anan, the son of Anan, who had formerly been called in for the protection of the city and had been high-priest, thundered against the blasphemy of the democratic Zealots, and the insolence of their pretensions. Simon Ben-Gamaliel also was irritated at the subversion of the previously existing order of things. He called upon his hearers in the popular assemblies to oppose the "Destroyers of Liberty" and "the Blasphemers of the Holy One."¹³ This naturally arose from a breach between the Zealots and their chief Eleazar Ben Simon on the one hand, and Simon Ben-Gamaliel on the other. The Zealots initiated a reign of terror against their adversaries. The Sanhedrin was purged of its anti-Zealot members, and seventy fresh members were appointed in their stead from the general mass.¹⁴ Josephus does not, it is true, mention the month in which the election of the new high-priest took place. The election was probably taken in hand in view of the necessary functions on the Day of Atonement in the second year, and so as to remove a high-priest who had been appointed by the detested King Agrippa, and who was in addition suspected to have Roman tendencies—a suspicion well founded, as was proved by his subsequent conduct.

¹² Josephus, iv. 8, 6—8.

¹³ Josephus, § 9.

¹⁴ Josephus, v. 3, 4.

The rupture between the Zealots and Simon Ben-Gamaliel may possibly, therefore, have taken place as early as in the month of Tishri, in which the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated, and the former being indignant at Simon's partisan agitation against them, may have struck coins with the same types and emblems as those which bore his name, so as to demonstrate that he was no longer at the head of the commonwealth. In the course of events his name was, in fact, no longer employed, and Josephus also points to the fact that this Simon was deposed, inasmuch as he remarks, "*He had been* in a position to improve the wretched position of affairs (*ευνάμενος τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα . . . διορθώσασθαι*)."¹⁵ There are also no further coins of the second year in existence which bear the name of this Simon. The example which has on one side שבעון נשיִת, and upon the other ישׁרָאֵל (in the Wigan Collection¹⁵), in addition to which Merzbacher wished to read להר שׁיב, offers no certainty on this subject, as Madden has rightly observed.

It may especially be mentioned further that no genuine coins are known which bear the date of the second year or even of the fourth. The remarkable pieces which read שַׁבָּע are subject to suspicion, for the reason that they exhibit either two lulab-like types, or two ethrogim (citrons), and in addition the legend ל. נְאָלָה צִוָּן. Zion was in later times only used poetically and metaphorically for Jerusalem. The genuineness of this class of coins, which have always been attributed to Simon Maccabaeus, has yet to be proved. There was after the second year no individual who can be said to have represented the commonwealth, or who could have had the necessary autho-

¹⁵ Now presumably in the Rev. S. S. Lewis's Cabinet.—H. M.

rity to strike coins. In the spring of the year 67, John of Giskala, who had a considerable following, and who became a rival of Eleazar Ben Simon, arrived in Jerusalem. In the third year Simon Bar-Gioras also came thither, and each of these leaders sought to assume the supremacy, and would scarcely have granted to the other the right of appearing to have authority to strike coins. In the first year only were there two men who had such an authority, first, Eleazar, and subsequently Simon Ben-Gamaliel.¹⁶

NOTE I.

So far as is known there are four types of the series of lulab coins.

TYPE I. appears to be unique in the Paris Cabinet, and is in silver. On the lulab side, beginning from beneath the holder or little basket is the legend שְׁנִית אַחֲרֵת לְנַאֲלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל round the coin. The ethrog, somewhat rudely formed, particularly at the top, partly projects above the basket. On the side with the portal, on the column to the right, is יְהֹוָה, above the architrave the letters שׁוּב, and on the left column לְבָב = יִרְשָׁלָם; within the opening of the portal a semicircle with little rings or pellets; within this semicircle, towards the upper part of the centre, is a short line of four little rings, further beneath, two more, and lower again four more; a longer line above the architrave consisting of about twenty little rings (see Fig. I.).

TYPE II.—Of this type six or seven specimens are known.

(1) In the collection of the Comte de Vogüé (*Rev. Num.* 1860, 2, note), imperfectly engraved by De Saulcy, Tab. XI. 3, cf. Fig. II.

¹⁶ The example in De Saulcy, Tab. XIII. 6, which has on one side שְׁנִית אַחֲרֵת לְנַאֲלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל, and on the other five letters, which Levy has read חָנָן בֶּן חָנָן, and wished to attribute to the high-priest Anan, is thoroughly untrustworthy, as has been shown by Garrucci, Merzbacher, and more lately also by Madden. Whether we can read instead הַכֹּהֵן אֱלֹהִים is open to question. (Merzbacher in Von Sallet I. 230, note iv.; 351, No. 89.)

- (2) In the collection of Dr. Eugen Merzbacher of Munich (to whose courtesy I am indebted for an impression).
- (3) In the collection of Dr. Babington (Madden, *Num. Orient.* II, 244, No. 87).
- (4) In the collection of Dr. Welcher v. Moltheim (Madd. *id.*).
- (5) In the collection of Señor Infante, in Spain (deemed genuine by numismatists according to the statement of Dr. Merzbacher. See Von Sallet, *Zeitsch. für Numismatik*, I., 224, No. 6; IV., 256, No. 112).
- (6) In the Hunter collection (communicated by Woide in Bayer, *de Numis*, p. XII. No. 2).
- (7) In the possession of a Mr. Lurie of Mohilew there is said to be a similar example (Merzbacher). On the lulab side is שֶׁב לְחָר יְרוּשָׁלַיִם round the coin, commencing from the bottom. The upper edge of the lulab holder is of a somewhat more substantial form than No. 1. The ethrog in No. 2 projects but little over the holder. On the other hand, it is set down lower in Nos. 1 and 3; so that its head only reaches as far as the centre of the holder. On the portal side is the word יְרוּשָׁלָם, half on the right and half on left side, in Nos. 1 and 3; but on No. 2 as on Type No. I. Nos. 1—3 have above the portal also a representation of a small cross with limbs of equal size. These two also have, in common with Type I., the linear ornamentation (the semicircle and the line in the middle) within the porch, but with slight differences so far as No. 3 is concerned. In Mr. Babington's example the line also occurs above the architrave. I do not know how the ornamentations of the other examples are arranged, or whether they have the small cross before mentioned, as I have not seen any representations of them, and numismatists have not considered these points. Some variations in this type indicate that more than one die was used. According to the statement of its possessor, Dr. Moltheim, the Greek letters NO are distinctly visible under the porch on No. 4.

TYPE III.—Of this type only two examples are known, (1) In the Paris collection (De Saulcy, Tab. XIV. 4). (2) In the collection of Mr. L. Hamburger, of Frankfurt-am-Main, who most courteously obliged me with a cast of it, clearly taken from a struck example. I do not know whether other examples exist. On the lulab side is שֶׁב לְחָר יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, as in Type II. The ethrog is towards the centre of the lulab-holder. On the portal side is עַזְבָּה to the right and עַזְבָּה to the left (on No. 2 the former is effaced). Above are what appear to be two architraves, instead of the linear ornamentation, and above the second a small star (effaced on No. 2). The decoration

within the porch is different from Fig. II. The arch of the semicircle is not like a circle of dots, and the little lines on No. 2 are like the others, but on No. 1 resemble two wands, one beneath the other. No. 2 shows indistinct traces of the head of an emperor, with the ends of a diadem (see Fig. III.).

TYPE IV.—Five examples are known : (1) In the Paris Cabinet (De Saulcy, Fig. IV. 1). (2) In the Berlin Cabinet (of which, the director, Von Sallet, has kindly sent me a plaster cast). It bears traces of an emperor's head, with the diadem. (3) In the collection of Rev. S. S. Lewis (see Madden, *loc. cit.* p. 239, No. 19). It shows traces of the letters **T. ΦΛΑΥΙ. ΟΥ.** (*Tίτος Φλαυιος Ουεσπασιανος*). (4) In Bayer, *de Numis*, p. 141, No. 2 (see Fig. V.). (5) In the Museum Kircherianum (engraved by Merzbacher, in Von Sallet, III. 214, Tab. V. No. 114). This example has somewhat legibly on the upper portion of the lulab side the letters **NOC**, and on the right hand distinctly the head of an emperor; towards the right are the outlines of the mouth, nose, brow, eye, and the leaves of the laurel wreath (see Fig. VI.). All these examples have, in common, the inscription **לחרות ירושלים** on the lulab side, and **שמעון ורשות**, more or less distinctly, on the portal side. But some differ from others in points of detail. Fig. VI least resembles the others. This specimen has not **לחרות ירושלים** in full, but at the foot of the lulab-holder are the letters **כח**; then there is a wide interval, which is occupied by the emperor's head wreathed, and then still farther, close to the left side, is the word **וירושלים**. There is ample space to have admitted the striking of the full inscription **לחרות ירושלים**, but it gives one the impression that it was desired that the head should not be offaced by the striking over it. Only Nos. 1 and 2 are alike. In these the lulab-holder is divided into four parts, on No. 4 into five, and on No. 5 only into two parts, as in the case of Types I., II., and III. Nos. 1, 2, and 5 have but a faint trace of an architrave, but above it two straight lines. No. 4, on the other hand, has scarcely any trace of an architrave over the columns, but only the decoration of a straight line, and above it a wavy line. All the examples have a star above the decoration over the columns with the exception of No. 4, which has none. The numismatists have not observed this peculiarity, though this is just what excites a suspicion that it is not a genuine piece. The **נ** also in **כח** on No. 5, has by no means the appearance of that letter on other coins or in the Samaritan alphabet. The letter **ו** also, in the word **וירושלים** is peculiarly formed.

The decoration within the opening of the portal also differs. If we take into consideration that the legend **לחרות ירושלים**

by itself is meaningless in the absence of any statement as to the year of striking (which is wanting throughout in the case of these pieces), and even if this had occurred, that reference would be due on the coins, not only to the freedom of the capital, but to that of the people and of the land in general, and if we further take into consideration that some of the examples of these coins bear signs of *surfrappage* of a time after Vespasian, when Jerusalem had long since been destroyed, and if we finally take into consideration that the examples cannot be of one and the same make, the certainty arises that all the examples of this type are equally open to suspicion. The star upon some examples of this Type IV. cannot in any degree serve as representing the guiding star of the Pseudo-Messiah Bar-Cochab. Especially may it be urged that the genuineness of the proportionately large number of examples of this type with ירושלים and שטען, with or without signs of *surfrappage*, must be better evidenced than has at present been the case. It is probable that we possess no genuine example of the period of the Bar-Cochab revolt. This suspicion extends also to those examples which have the words שׁב לחר יִשְׂרָאֵל by the side of שטען, as in the Berlin Cabinet there is one example with the palm-tree and vine, and with this legend, which bears traces also of the Latin letters NVS under the vine (Von Sallet, V. III.). It is struck, therefore, either over a coin of Vespasian, Domitian, or Trajan, and in either case after the destruction of Jerusalem. This city was, however, not rebuilt during the second Revolt, and did not fall into the possession of Bar-Cochab. The name of this hero also was not Simon. Can these coins, therefore, have been engraved or struck over other coins in his time and in his name?

FURTHER NOTE TO PAGE 183.¹⁷

The Rev. Dr. Babington's cabinet contains a similar silver coin of an abnormal type, with a lyre and grapes and the same legends as the Reichardt example, but the legends are rendered less legible owing to a hole towards the side. On one side is יִשְׂרָאֵל, שׁדָּאֵל, א. ת. ל. ח. and on the other יִשְׂרָאֵל, שׁנַת אַחַת לְגַלְלָת. This is described as No. 2570 in the Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition, but Madden treats it

¹⁷ This is attached in manuscript to my copy of the original work, and is in Dr. Graetz's own handwriting.—H. M.

as false (*Num. Orient.*) : "I do not consider this piece to be genuine." Mr. H. Montagu, on the other hand, maintains "This coin appears to be perfectly genuine, but the use of two reverse dies with different dates is remarkable." But it is just the use of these different words *לנזרה*, which stamps it as being a false coin. Mr. Montagu was kind enough to lend me this coin, and its appearance has convinced me more effectually of its want of genuineness. The coin is not struck but is cast, and every cast must be regarded as false of which no struck original is forthcoming to prove the contrary.¹⁸ This example of Dr. Babington's is therefore in the same category with the Reichardt example, which experienced numismatists have condemned. Both prove that forgers have existed who have driven a trade by striking or casting scarce pieces in feeble imitation of genuine coins.

¹⁸ I have again examined this coin by the kindness of its owner, and have submitted it to the highest authorities. It is clearly struck and not cast.—H. M.

IX.

COINS OF THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

PREFACE.

ON three sides India is protected from invasion ; by the Himāla Mountains on the north, and on the east and west by the sea. But on the north-west side, along the line of the Indus, she is open to attack. On this side she was successfully invaded in ancient times by the Persians, the Greeks, and the Indo-Scythians. On this side also, in modern times, she was successfully assailed by the Turks under Mahmud Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghori, and by the Mongols under Buber.

The Persian rule in N. W. India lasted for about two centuries, from b.c. 500 to 330, from the time of Darius to the invasion of Alexander the Great. The Greek dominion lasted for about three centuries, from b.c. 330 to 26, when the Kabul valley and the Panjāb were conquered by Kujula, king of the Kushān Scythians. The flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule also lasted for about three centuries, or from b.c. 26 down to the end of the third century A.D.,¹ when it came into contact with the rapidly growing power of the Gupta dynasty of N. India.

¹ Pauthier, *Le Thian-tchu, ou l'Inde*, p. 9 note, quoting Ma-twan-lin.

The rise of this great dynasty deprived the Indo-Scythians of N. W. India; but they still retained possession of the Kabul valley and the Panjab in the north and of Sindh in the south. In the latter country they remained until the seventh century, when they were dispossessed by the Brahman Chach. In the former they remained until the end of the ninth century, when they were displaced by the Brahman Kalar.

The three centuries of Indo-Scythian rule in N. India form a very striking period, as it separates Sanskrit literature into two broadly marked divisions, named by Dr. Max Müller the *ancient* and the *modern*, the former comprising the Brahmanical Veda and the Buddhist Tripitaka, and the latter all other works,² including even the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata, which in their present form are probably not older than the period of Gupta rule.

In the present account I propose to treat at some length of the three centuries of the more flourishing period of Indo-Scythian rule previous to the rise of the Gupta empire. For this period we possess not only a profusion of coins but also a considerable number of inscriptions. For the later period of almost four centuries, from about A.D. 300 down to the advent of the Muhammadans, the materials are comparatively scanty. The coins indeed are numerous, but they are unfortunately of uncertain dates, and their inscriptions, even when expressed in Indian characters, are either limited to single letters or to general titles which give but little useful information. The long legends on most of the silver coins of this period are at present quite useless, as they are expressed in an

² *India—What can it teach us?* p. 88.

unknown Scythian character, and no doubt also in some Scythian language. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, the characters in use to the north of the Indian Caucasus in A.D. 630 were 25 in number, and were written from left to right. Not a single name is known, and as all the characters on the coins are joined together, it is difficult to find out where any particular letter begins or ends. I think that I have discovered the combination that corresponds with the title of *Shdhī*, and as this was the native title the characters should correspond.

In the following account I have aimed at giving a description of all the known coins of the Indo-Scythians, together with such historical notices as I have been able to gather from various sources. I have divided the work into three parts, as follows:—

Part I.—Historical notices of the Indo-Scythians.

Part II.—Notes on the coins of the Indo-Scythians.

Part III.—Descriptive lists of the coins.

There are three minor subjects, which, as they are brief, may be conveniently discussed at once. These are—

1.—The Arian legends on the coins.

2.—The monograms on the coins of the Saka kings.

3.—The monetary systems.

1.—THE ARIAN ALPHABET.

When Wilson published his *Ariana Antiqua* in 1840, no progress whatever had been made in reading the native legends beyond the point where James Prinsep had left it. The native forms of several important names still remained unread, such as Gondophares and Abdagases, and the legend on the reverse of Queen Agathokleia's

coin. I was the first to discover the true form of the letter G on the coins of Gondophares and Abdagases in 1841, which I followed up by applying it to the word *Strategasa*, Στρατηγός, on the coins of *Aspa Varma*, the son of Indra Varma. The discovery of GH followed immediately afterwards, as this letter is formed by the simple addition of H to G. At the same time I discovered the form of BH in *bhrāta-putrasa*, or "brother's son," as the translation of ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΩΣ on the coin of Abdagases, and in *bhrātasa*, or "brother," as the translation of ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ on the coins of Vonones and Spalahores. This was followed up by reading the name of *Amoghabhuti* on the coins of the King of the Kunindas.

The compound character answering to STR I found on the coins of *Hippostratus*, which led to the discovery that the native legend of the coins of Agathokleia gave the name of King *Straton*.

In the proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for April (just received) I find that Dr. Hoernle objects to the readings of *Stratasa* and *Hipastratasa*, on the ground that the *st* of Sanskrit becomes *th* in Pali. This is true for Eastern India, but not for Western India and the Panjab and Kabul, where we know that the people preserved the pronunciation of *st* in the names of the Princes Haustanes and Astes. But the most direct and satisfactory proof is afforded by the different versions of Asoka's inscription. On comparing the *Girnar* version, which is recorded in Indian Pali characters, I find *nāsti* in Edicts II. and VI. as in the Shāhbāzgarhi text, while the Kālsi, Dhauli, and Jaugada versions have *nāthi*. I find also *asti* and *vista* in Edict XIV. of Girnar and Shāhbāzgarhi where Kālsi and Dhauli have *athi* and *vitha*.

For Western India I may refer to the inscription of

Chashtan, the *Tiastanes* of Ptolemy, as the most convincing proof that the compound *st* was not pronounced as *th* in Ujain and Surâshtra.

In India also we know that *asica*, a horse, was shortened to *assa* and *asu* in Pali. But in the west we find *Tushaspa*, the Yavana satrap of Surâshtra under Asoka; and to the west of the Indus we have *Khoaspes*. It will be sufficient, however, to note that the Arian compound letter read as *sp*, is the equivalent of the Greek ΣΠ in the names of *Spalahora* and *Spalgadama*.

I was the first to read the name of *Kushán* on the coin of *Kozoulo Kadphises*, and that of *Khushán* on the coins of *Kozola Kadaphes*, and to identify both with the Greek **KOPANO** and **XOPAN**. After this followed the name of *Kanishka* in Court's Manikyala inscription as king of the *Gusháns*.

Two forms of PH were obtained from the coins of Telephus and Gondophares.

CH and CHH I discovered about the same time, by identifying *Chhatrapa* as the true reading of *Kshatrapa*, or Satrap.

SW I found in *Mahiswara* and *Sarva-lokeswara* on the coins of *Hima Kadphises*.

The prefixed R was another valuable discovery, as it led to the correct reading of RM in *dharma*, as well as in *Aspa Varma* and *Indra Varma*. Then followed *Sarra* and *acharya*, to which I can now add *Gondopharna*.

But my chief discovery in the reading of names in the native characters was the decipherment of the names of the Macdonian months *Arthamisiyasa*, *Panemasa*, and *Apilaesa* in three different inscriptions.

In the Indian Pali alphabet I claim the discovery of the title of *Râjine* on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles,

which had baffled every previous writer. *Rājine* is the Pali form of the Sanskrit genitive *Rājnya*, "of the king." The middle letter *j* had been read by Lassen; but the undulating form of the initial *r* had puzzled him.

I also discovered the true reading of the title of **ZAOY**, or *zatou*, which had always been read previously as **ZAOY**, or *zathou*. It is the Greek rendering of the native title which the Chinese have preserved as *Sha-wu* (*Cha-wou*).

I may add also that the true reading of the name of **BAZO-ΔHO** or *Vasu Deva*, was due to me. On the small copper coins the name is shortened to **BAZ-ΔHO**, which is the true spoken form of *Bds-deo*.

It is perhaps curious to note, that though all these readings have now been generally adopted, scarcely one of them has been acknowledged as mine.

The accompanying Plate VII. gives the native names and titles of all the Indo-Scythian kings in the Arian Pali characters, as found upon their coins. The transliterations of all the legends are given in Plate VIII.

2.—MONOGRAMS.³

The Greek monograms on the coins of the Indo-Scythians are comparatively few, there being only about fifty on the coins of the Saka kings, but not even one on those of the Kushān kings. I am fully aware of the difficulty of any attempt to explain these monograms; but as they occupy a very prominent place on the faces of the coins, I do not think it right to leave them unnoticed. My previous attempt to explain the monograms on the coins of the Greek princes of Bactria and India was con-

³ For illustrations of monograms see Plate IX.

1	לצְנַעַרְצָא סְרִיךְ עֲמָקָה	<i>Moa</i>
2	סְפָלָהָרָה	<i>Spalahora</i>
3	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Spalagada-ma</i>
4	סְפָלִירִיזָה	<i>Spaliriza</i>
5	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Spalagada</i>
6	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Aya</i>
7	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Aya</i>
8	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Aya</i>
9	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Ayılışa</i>
10	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Namless King</i>
11	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Gudupharna</i>
12	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Guduphara</i>
13	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Orthagnes</i>
14	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Havaradagaşa</i>
15	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Avadagaşa</i>
16	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Avadagaşa</i>
17	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Sasa</i>
18	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Arshaka</i>
19	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Pakura</i>
20	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Kiyula</i>
21	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Koxola</i>
22	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Kujala-kara</i>
23	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Homa,Homa</i>
24	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Aspa Koma</i>
25	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Kironia</i>
26	סְפָלָגָהָדָה	<i>Rajubula</i>



1. Rajatirajasa mahatasa MOASA.
2. Maharaja-bhrata dhramikasa SPALAHORASA.
3. Spalahora-putrasa dhramiasa SPALAGADAMASA.
4. Maharaja-bhrada dhramiasa SPALIRISASA.
5. Maharajasa mahatakasa SPALIRISASA.
6. Rajatirajasa mahatasa AYASA.
7. Maharajasa mahatkasa AYASA.
8. Maharajasa rajarajasa AYASA.
9. Maharajasa mahatasa dhramikasa rajatirajasa AYASA.
10. Maharajasa rajarajasa AYILISHASA.
11. Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tradatasa.
12. Maharajasa tradatasa GUDUPHARNASA.
13. Maharajasa dhramikasa apratihatas devahadasa GUDUPHARASA.
14. Maharajasa rajatirajasa Gudupharasa GUDANASA.
15. Maharajasa mahatasa GUDANASA.
16. Maharajasa HARADAGASASA tradatasa.
17. Maharajasa AVADAGASASA tradatasa.
18. Guduphara bhrata-putrasa maharajasa tradatasa AVADAGASASA.
19. Maharajasa mahatasa tradatasa devahadasa Gudupharasa SASASA ω.
20. Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa.
21. Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa ARSHAKASA.
22. Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa PAKURASA.
23. Kushana yavugasa KUYULA KAPSASA sacha dharma thidasa.
24. Yauasa Khushanasa KUYULA KAPHSASA sacha dharma thidasa.
25. Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa KUYULA-KARA-KAPASA.
26. Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga-iswarasa mahiswarasa HIMAKATHPISASA tradata.
27. Indra-varma putrasa ASPA-VARMASA strategasa jayantasa.
28. Manigulasa Chhatrapasa putrasa Chhatrapasa JIHONIASA.
29. Chhatrapasa apratihatachakrasa RANJUBULASA.
30. Mahakhatapasa RAJUBULASA.



fessedly tentative. But I still feel that I was right in my original opinion, that *the occurrence of the same monograms on the coins of many consecutive princes of different dates is sufficient evidence to show that they cannot be the names either of magistrates or of mintmasters, and must therefore almost certainly be the names of cities where the coins were struck.*

It has been objected by M. Chabouillet that my early attempt to explain these monograms does not give the name of any one of the seventeen towns of Bactria recorded by Ptolemy. To this I can reply that only six of the thirty known Greek princes of the East were kings of Bactria, and that the number of monograms on their coins can be counted on the fingers. As all the other monograms are found upon coins bearing native legends, they must certainly be referred to the south of the Caucasus. I may note, however, that the letter N, which is found singly on the coins of Antiochus I., Antiochus II., Diodotus, and Antimachus I., perhaps denotes *Nautaha*, where Alexander wintered, as I find a monogram forming NA on the tetradrachm of Antimachus with the head of Diodotus on the obverse.

Mr. Percy Gardner accepts M. Chabouillet's opinion, and adds that I *profess to have found in the monograms "the names of most of the cities of Bactria and the Panjab."* Mr. Gardner has evidently overlooked my actual profession on this point, in which I distinctly state that "I do not suppose that all, or even one half, of the names that occur on the coins of the Bactrian and Arian Greek, are the names of mint cities."

Mr. Gardner then proceeds to state his "entire agreement with M. Chabouillet," that there are but few cities, such as "Odessus, Patræ, and Panormus, which are known

to have placed on their coins a monogram to represent their names."

To this argument I reply that as the coins of cities usually give their names at full length, their repetition in the form of monograms was quite unnecessary. There are, however, many examples of the names of cities expressed by monograms, but only on those coins where the name itself is not given. I may quote the following :—

1. Monogram forming **AK** on coins of Akarnania. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 283.)
2. Monogram forming **ANA** on coins of Anaktorium. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 279.)
3. Monogram forming **APKAΔ** on coins of Arkadia. (Head, *B. M. Guide*, pl. 28, 37.)
4. Monogram forming **ΛΕΟΝΤΙΝ** on coins of Leontini. (*B. M. Cat. Sicily*, p. 94.)
5. Monogram forming **KPA** on coins of Kranii. (*B. M. Cat. Pelop.*, p. 80.)
6. Monogram forming **KOP** on coins of Korkyra. (*B. M. Cat. Corcyra*, p. 128.)
7. Monogram forming **EP** on coins of Hermione. (*B. M. Cat. Pelop.*, p. 160.)
8. Monogram forming **ΣΑ** on coins of Samé. (*B. M. Cat. Pelop.*, p. 91.)
9. Monogram forming **ΓΑ** on coins of Gaza. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 680.)
10. Monogram forming **ΠΤΟ** on coins of Ptolemaïs. (*B. M. Cat. Ptolemies*, p. lxxxvi.)
11. Monogram forming **AXAI** on coins of Achaia. (*B. M. Cat. Pelop.*, p. 1.)
12. Monogram forming **ΚΑΗ** on coins of Kleitor. (*B. M. Cat. Pelop.*, p. 180.)
13. Monogram forming **MAT** on coins of Mateolum. (*B. M. Cat. Italy*, p. 141.)

Monograms for the names of kings are not unknown, as—

ΔΗΜΗΤΡ for Demetrius of Macodon. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 204.)

ΝΙΚ for Nikokreon of Cyprus. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 626.)

ΠΥΡ for Pyrrhus. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 203.)

ΑΝΤΙ for Antigonus of Macedon. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 204.)

ΜΟΑΓ for Moagetes of Kibyra. (*Zeit. f. Num.*, I. p. 330.)

Again Mr. Gardner states his opinion that M. Chabouillet is clearly right in saying that these monograms are usually merely "the private mark of a magistrate or a contractor." That this may have been the case with many of the *cities* of the *West* I freely admit, but we are now dealing with the *kings* of the East, and not with the *cities* of the East. In the East, the right of coinage has always been a royal prerogative, which from the time of Darius Hystaspes has been jealously guarded, and its infringement severely punished. The story of Aryandes as told by Herodotus is familiar to every one.

But both M. Chabouillet and Mr. Gardner have evidently overlooked the case of the well-known coins, called Cistophori, on several of which the names of the cities where the coins were minted are certainly given in monogram, while the names of the magistrates are usually confined to the two initial letters.

1. On cistophori of Adramyteum, monogram forming **ΑΔΡΑ**. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 446.)
2. On cistophori of Parium or Apameia, monogram forming **ΠΑ**. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 459.)
3. On cistophori of Pergamus, monogram forming **ΠΕΡ**. (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 462.)

Might not the same system have prevailed in other

countries besides Asia Minor? For instance, on a large copper coin of Alexander, I find the monogram which I have read as *Demetrias* coupled with another forming TH, and on another copper coin the same *Demetrias* monogram with the letter Δ. If one of these must be the mintmaster's name it certainly cannot be the first, as that monogram is found on the coins of no less than twelve different princes from the time of Demetrius down to Hermæus, or for upwards of a century and a half. Similarly I find a common monogram of the coins of Hippostratus repeated on the coins of Azas. It forms the syllable APT, which I take to be the name of the mint city. On the coins of Hippostratus it stands alone, but on those of Azas it is variously accompanied, sometimes by ΔI in monogram, sometimes by MIP in monogram. As it is scarcely possible that these two kings could have had the same mintmaster, I incline to the opinion that the monogram is more likely to be the name of a town than that of a man.

On the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Parthia we have the names of at least three cities given at full length: *Katastrateia*, *Traxiane*, and *Margiane*. The last Mr. Gardner takes for the name of the province of *Margiana*; but surely it must be intended for the ancient city of Merv, which was rebuilt by Antiochus as *Antiocheia Margiana*. The names of at least three other Parthian cities are given in an abbreviated form, and not in monogram. A single monogram accompanied by the word ΠΟΛΙΣ undoubtedly refers to a city; and this example serves to strengthen the opinion that several of the other monograms found on Parthian coins may be the names of cities. Some of these monograms form combinations so simple as scarcely to admit of any other readings. Amongst these I find PA for *Rhagæ*, APTA for *Artamita*,

XAPA for *Kharax*, **ΑΠΑ** for *Apamea*, **ANT** for *Antiochia*, **HP** and **HPAK** for *Heraklea*, **ΦΥΛ** for *Phulake*, **ΓΑ** for *Gaza*, and **ΑΠΟΛΛ** for *Apollonia*.

The question now arises, From whence did the Parthians derive this practice of putting the names of cities on their coins? As the kings of Syria did not as a rule do so, the Parthians themselves must either have originated the practice or they must have copied it from the Bactrian Greeks. But as I have noticed a prevailing desire to trace all the coin types of the Parthians to Syrian or Bactrian types, I presume that the Parthian origin of the custom will be disputed. In any case the custom must have been familiar to the Eastern Greeks. The name of one city I have found beyond all doubt on some coins of Eukratides, namely *Karisiye-nagara*, that is the city (*nagara*) of *Karisi*. This city I take to be the same as *Kālsi* or *Kárisi* of the Buddhist chronicles, which was the birthplace of Menander.

The practice of the Arsakidan kings was followed by the Sassanians; and on the coins of Feroz are found the names of no less than twenty-six different mint cities, accompanied by the years of the reign.

So also did the Khalifs of Baghdad give the names of their mint-cities with the Hijra dates on all their coins. Their example was followed by the Turki Sultans of Ghazni, and afterwards by the Turk and Mughal Emperors of India down to our own times.

To prevent misapprehension I may here state my views as to the information to be derived from the monograms. Such of the combinations as are simple and easily resolvable into well-known names, either in full or in part, may I think be accepted as actual names. But unless the places fulfil the condition of being within the territory

held by the particular prince on whose coins they occur, they cannot be accepted. As an example of my method I will take the monogram forming **EY**, which is found on the coins of Euthydemus, Eukratides, Menander, Straton, Zöilus, Apollophanes, and Rajubul. I take this monogram to stand for Euthydemia or Sangala, a well-known city in the Panjâb, which most probably received its name from Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, during his Eastern campaigns. That the place was certainly in the Eastern Panjâb is declared by its occurrence on the ruder coins of Straton, Zöilus, and Apollophanes, which are restricted to that district. Lastly, the monogram is common on the copper coins of Menander, who, in the Pali work named the "Questions of Milindra" is distinctly said to be the King of Sâkala.

As another example I will take the common monogram, No. 15, of the coins of the Vonones family, which I read as **KOTTOBAPA** in full. The princes of this family held Arachosia, of which the capital in the time of Isidorus was *Sigal*. As the letter *g* is very commonly elided, I think that *Sigal* may be read as *Siäl* or *Shäl*, a large town close to Quetta. As the last name is a peculiarly British rendering of *Kotta*, or "the forts," I think that Ptolemy's *Kottobara* must be simply *Kotta* or *Quetta*, with the town of *Shäl* close by to represent *Sigal*. I would remark that the same reasons which have led to the British occupation of this position must have had equal weight with the Saka Indo-Scythians when they made it their capital.

The monogram of **FAZAKA**, for Ghazni, No. 14, also seems unobjectionable.

Another example which I consider as almost certain is No. 3 and No. 37 monograms, which I read as

A. ΕΥΘΥΔΕΜΟΣ, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
B. ΕΥΘΥΔΕΜΑΣ

C. ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΕΣ

D. ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ, ΖΩΙΛΑΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΕΣ, ΡΑΓΙΒΑΙ

1	Moas	21	Axas	41	ΒΑΡΔΑ Barda
2	ΝΙΚΑΙΑ	22	ΑΝΔΡΑΓΑΛΗ	42	?
3	ΚΑΣΠΑΛΥΡΑ <i>Kasuparura</i>	23	?	43	ya . a
4	ΑΡΤΟΑΡΤΑ ?	24	?	44	ΔΡ Dh
5	ΑΡΑ	25	ΣΑΓΓΑΛΑ <i>Sangala</i>	45	Ma . ju . sa χ ρ
6	?	26	?	46	?
7	?	27	ΠΕΥΚΕΑΔΩΤΙΣ <i>see N° 31.</i>	47	?
8	ΠΑΤΑ	28	?	48	?
9	= Aspa	29	ΣΑΠΙΛ <i>sapi-la</i>	49	?
10	= Milam	30	ΑΡΑ = A	50	symbol CONOOPHARES of Dynasty
11	?	31	?	51	ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΑ <i>Gondophara</i>
12	Vonones	32	?	52	?
13	ΒΑΡΔΑΒΑΘΡΑ or ΠΑΡΔΑΒΑΘΡΑ	33	?	53	common Buddhist symbol
14	ΓΑΖΑΚΑ <i>Ghaxni</i>	34	?	54	coins of ARSAKES
15	ΚΟΤΤΟΒΑΡΑ <i>Kotta or Quetta</i>	35	?	55	ΕΥΒΥΔΗΜΕΙΚ = Sangala
16	ΣΙΓΑΛ <i>Siäl or Shäl</i>	36	?	56	Symbol NAMELESS or KING
17	ΚΟΤΤΟΒΑΡΑ <i>Kotta or Quetta</i>	37	ΚΑΣΠΑΛΥΡΑ <i>Kasuparura</i>	57	Coins of ZEIONISES
18		38	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ	58	Symbol ΗΙΜΑ Καρφίες of ΚΑΛΕΡΚΙ HOVERKI
19		39	= Vakralui γ ρ δ	59	Symbol ΒΑΖΟ-ΔΕΟ of
20		40	ΠΑΝΤΑΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΒΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΡΑ	60	later Symbol



ΚΑΣΠΑΠΥΡΑ in full. This was the ancient well-known name of Multān, and it was from Multān, and not from Kashmir, that Skylax must have started. There are two objections fatal to Kashmir: 1, the city was *not* named *Kasyapapur*; and 2, no boat could descend the Jhelam or Hydaspes below Barahmula.

In the Plate of Monograms (IX.) I have included all that I could find on the coins of Moas and of the Vonones family. But I have been obliged to be content with a selection of the very numerous monograms on the coins of Azus and Azilises. Some day, perhaps, a key may be found to unlock the mystery which lies hidden in these little knots of letters.

When I made an attempt nearly twenty years ago to unravel some of the monograms on the Greek coins of Bactria and India, I stated my opinion that all the coin monograms "which are common to a number of different princes can only be the names of cities, and cannot possibly be the names either of magistrates or of mint-masters, or of any other functionaries."⁴ Some of the numismatists of Europe, as I have already noted, seem to think that because magistrates' names are found on the coins of *Greek cities*, the same custom must have prevailed in the East with the *coins of kings*.

One example of the name of a city I can now offer which I think is not open to objection. I allude to the name of Sangala, the Shākala or Sākala of the Hindus. According to Ptolemy this place was also called Euthydemia (corrected from Eūthymedia). At the top of the Plate I have given several different monograms of this

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, II. Ser., viii. p. 185.

place, which seem to me to be quite satisfactory. I have marked them A, B, C, D. A is found on the coins of Euthydemus and Menander. It forms EY, which I refer to Euthydemia, as we might naturally expect to find it on the coins of Euthydemus, after whom Sangala must have received its Greek name of Euthydemia. We might also expect to find the same monogram on the coins of Menander, as in the Milinda Prasna Sāgal is said to have been the capital of *Raja Milindra*. Sangala was in the Eastern Panjāb; and we learn from Strabo that Menander had actually crossed the Hypanis or Biās river.

B is also found on the coins of Euthydemus. It forms simply EY for Euthydemia.

C consists of two monograms which are found together on a coin of Eukratides. The upper one reads EY, as before, but the lower one gives the alternative name of ΣΑΓΓΑΛΑ in full.

D is found on the coins of no less than four kings—Straton, Zoīlus, Apollophanes, and Rajubul. It forms EY. As the coins of all the four princes on which this monogram occurs are of coarser and ruder work, and are found only in the Eastern Panjāb, I think we may admit that they were most probably struck at Euthydemia or Sangala, which was certainly the capital of that part of the country.

Of the monograms given in the Plate, Nos. 1 to 11 are found on the coins of Moa or Mauas; Nos. 12 to 19 are found on the coins of the Vonones dynasty; Nos. 21 to 49 on the coins of Azas and Azilises; and Nos. 50 to 52 on the coins of the Gondophares dynasty. No. 55 occurs on the base silver coins of Rajubul.

Monograms of Moas or Mauas.

The coins of Moas are found chiefly in the Northern Panjâb and as far south as Multân; but so far as I am aware none have yet been found either in Sindh or in the Kabul valley to the west of Peshawur. If any of these monograms represent the names of mint cities, I would suggest that No. 2, which forms **NIK**, may be *Nikaia*, the city which was built by Alexander on the site of his battle with Porus. In my "Ancient Geography of India" I have shown some good reasons for fixing the site of *Nikaia* at Mong, which is said to have derived its name from Ruja Moga.

No. 3 I would read as **ΚΑΣΠΑΠΥΡΑ**, which was the old name of Multân, and which I would therefore identify with the city of Kaspapuros, recorded by Hekataeus and Herodotus. If the monogram is intended for the name of a city, I think that my reading has a fair claim to be accepted. I am aware that the closet geographers of Europe have generally taken *Kaspapuros* for Kashmir. But I have marched along the bank of the Hydaspes after it leaves the valley as far as Muzafarabad, and I can safely assert that no boat could stem the rapids below Barahmula.

The remaining monograms of Moas I must leave unattempted. I confess, however, to a feeling of disappointment at not finding any knot of letters that might be united to form the name of Taxila.

Monograms of the Vonones Dynasty.

The coins of this family were found in Kandahar by Stacy and Hutton in 1840-41, and by Ventura and myself in the Western Panjâb. As only five specimens

were got by Masson at Begram in a three years' collection, I conclude that these princes must have ruled over Arakhosia from Kandahar to the Indus. The metropolis of this tract of country according to Isidorus was *Sigal*, which by elision of the letter *g* I would identify with *Shál*, a large town close to Quetta. The proper name of Quetta is *Kotta*, which may be identified with Ptolemy's *Kottobara*. If any of the monograms on the coins of the Vonones family represent the names of cities, I should expect to find both Sigal and Kottobara tied up in some of these letter-knots. Nos. 12 to 19 are Vonones monograms.

No. 16 forms ΣΙΓΑΛ in full, but as it may be read in other ways I only propose *Sigal* on account of the probability of its being represented on the coins.

No. 15 I read as **KOTTOBAPA** in full, and as this monogram cannot well be read in any other way, I think that there is a strong presumption in favour of its accuracy. I do not deny the possibility that *Kottobaros* might have been the name of some subordinate officer of the Vonones dynasty, and that his son might have borne the same name and have held the same office under successive rulers. But all these possibilities scarcely amount to a probability, and I must confess that I prefer the city *Kottobara*.

No. 17 offers simply **KOTTO**, which I take for *Kotta* or *Quetta*, without any addition.

No. 14 I read as **ΓΑΖΑΚΑ**, or *Ghazni*, with some confidence, as I do not see that it can be read in any other way.

No. 13 may be read as **ΠΑΡΔΑΒΑΘΡΑ**, a city placed by Ptolemy on the western bank of the Indus. I presume that this must be the same place as the *Barda* of Isidorus;

but I am unable to identify it. Perhaps No. 12, which seems to be simply **B**, may be intended for *Barda*.

Another town mentioned by Isidorus is *Min*, which has been identified with Ptolemy's *Binagara* on the Indus.

Monograms of the Azas Dynasty.

The monograms of Azas and his successor Azilises are very numerous; and in the present Plate I have given a selection of those which are found on the principal coins, ranging from No. 21 to No. 49. As the successors of Moas they must have ruled over the Northern Panjâb, from Taxila to Multân.

No. 25 monogram may be read as ΣΑΓΓΑΛΑ, a place which was certainly within the dominions of Azas.

No. 37 is similar to No. 3 of Moas, which I have already explained as making ΚΑΣΠΑΠΥΡΑ in full, for the ancient city of Multân.

No. 40 may be read as ΠΑΝΤΑΓΡΑΜΜΑ, a town placed by Ptolemy on the Indus. It has been identified by Mr. McCrindle in his *Indian Geography of Ptolemy*, with *Panjpur*, near Embolima, because, as he says, it "agrees closely, both in its position and the signification of its name, with the Pentagramma of Ptolemy." But the true name of the place here referred to is *Panj-pîr*, or the "Five Saints" of the Muhammadans; whereas the Hindus call it *Panch-bîr*, or the "Five Heroes," and refer the name to the five Pandu brothers. This monogram might form ΒΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΡΑ, a name preserved by Ptolemy in the Eastern Panjâb. I would identify it with *Pathâniya*, or *Pathânkot*, one of the oldest places in the country. Its original name was *Pratisthâna*, which was shortened to *Paithâna*, or *Paithân*. It was the capital of

the *Odumbaris*, of whom I possess coins as old as the time of Apollodotus.

No. 41 forms ΒΑΡΔΑ, which I suppose to be the same place as Ptolemy's *Pardabathra* on the Indus. As Azas seems to have outlived the last of the Vonones dynasty, he may have succeeded to some of the eastern portions of their dominions; or he may have held *Barda* during the lifetime of his contemporary *Spalirises*, as their names appear together on several of the coins.

Monograms of the Gondophares Dynasty.

The principal monogram of this family is No. 51, which forms the name of ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΑ in full. I have no reason for supposing that he actually founded any city, but I note the fact of this possible reading as being curious, if not important.

Monogram of Rajubul.

No. 55 monogram is found on the base silver coins of Rajubul, which have been found in the Eastern Panjâb as well as at Mathura. His copper coins, with Arian legends, are found only in the Eastern Panjâb. I have therefore no hesitation in placing him at *Sangala*, as the monogram ΕΥ almost certainly refers to the city of *Euthydemia*, which was the Greek name of Sangala.

3. MONETARY STANDARD.

Two very marked and sudden changes took place in the weights of the gold and silver coins of N. W. India during the rule of the Greeks and Indo-Scythians. The

first change took place in the weights of the Greek silver coins after the time of Eukratides. From the existing gold and silver coins of Diodotus and Euthydemus, we see that the Attic standard of weight had been preserved with a rate of 10 silver to 1 gold. The gold stater at its full weight was 134·4 grains, which at 10 rates gave the equivalent silver value at 1,344 grains. This divided by 20 gave the weight of the silver drachma as 67·2, that of the didrachma 134·4, and that of the hemidrachma as 33·6 grains. Suddenly we find that the silver coins of the sixteen kings who followed Eukratides have become heavier, the average weight of 16 didrachmas having become 146·3 grains, while that of 82 hemidrachmas had risen to 36·48 grains. As many of the latter are over 37 grains, I take this to be the full weight of the hemidrachma, while that of the didrachma must have been up to 148 grains. Now this change must represent either a rise in the value of gold or a fall in that of silver, by which the relative values of the two metals had become 11 S. = 1 G., that is, one-tenth had been added to the weight of the silver coins. Thus:—

Grains.	Grains.
134·4 didrachmas	33·2 hemidrachmas
Add $\frac{1}{10}$ = 13·44	+ $\frac{1}{10}$ = 3·32
<hr/> 147·84	<hr/> 36·52
or 148 new didrachmas,	or 37 new hemidrachmas

This rate appears to have been maintained down to the time of the Indo-Scythian Kushâns, when the great issue of new gold coins took place and the coinage of silver ceased. Up to this time the gold money in circulation must have consisted of the staters of Alexander, Seleukus, Antiochus, Diodotus, and Euthydemus. The Saka

Scythians coined no gold, but they issued a very large amount of silver didrachmas and hemidrachmas of the same weights as those of the Greek successors of Eukratides.

We now come to the second sudden change in the weight of the new gold staters of the Kushâns, which was reduced from the full Attic standard of 134·4 grains down to something over 122 grains.

I have taken the weights of more than a hundred gold coins of the four Kushân kings, Wema Kadphises, Kanerki, Hoverki, and Vasu Deva, which give an average of 122·50 grains. But rejecting all the specimens under 123 grains, I find—

2 of Wema Kadphises	average	123·1	grs.	out of 10 specimens
11 of Kanerki ,	123·1	"	"	81
25 of Hoverki ,	123·4	"	"	125
21 of Vasu Deva ,	123·3	"	"	21
				<hr/>
		492·9		187
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
59 coins of four kings ,	123·2	"		

The fourth part of this stater would be 30·8 grains, which agrees with the existing ceins, as I find that 16 quarter staters of the same four kings give an average of 30·63 grains for the quarter stater.

The actual name of these gold coins has not been discovered; but as the gold money of the Gupta kings is called *Dinár* in several inscriptions, I have no doubt that the same name was applied to the Kushân gold ceins, as they preserve the weight of the early imperial *denarii aurei* of Rome.

I would explain this change in the same manner as the other, that is, either by a rise in the value of gold or by a fall in the value of silver. As the Kushâns struck no

silver money, the old silver coins of the Greeks and the Saka Scythians must have continued current; and as less gold was now given for the same quantity of silver, I conclude that the silver had fallen to 12 rates for 1 of gold. Adopting this rate for calculation, we get from the didrachma of 148 grains of silver a value of 1,480 grains of silver for the stater, which divided by 12 gives 123·33 as the weight of the gold stater, equivalent to 10 silver didrachmas of 148 grains.

The paucity of gold coins amongst the Indian Greeks may be explained by supposing that the old Persian darics had remained current down to the beginning of the Christian era, about which time the commercial intercourse between Europe and India had fallen into the hands of the Romans. The Roman empire had then advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and as early as the reign of Claudius the Roman merchants had already taken advantage of the trade winds to make direct voyages to India from the Arabian Gulf. The trade rapidly increased in value until before the death of Pliny, A.D. 70, Rome annually sent to India no less a sum than fifty thousand sestertia, or about £400,000.⁵ This import of specie still continued when the author of the *Periplus* visited India in A.D. 80—89, as he notes that Δηνάριον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦν, or both gold and silver denarii, were exchanged at Barygaza (or Baroch) at a profit for native money. At the same time he notes that old drachmas

⁵ *Hist. Nat.*, XII. 41 (18). Minimâque computatione millies centena millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres, peninsulaque (Arabia) imperio nostro admunt." The sum is about £800,000, of which in another place Pliny gives half, or quingenties HS to India. Gibbon, c. 2, values the amount at £400,000.

bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander were still current in Barygaza.⁶ At other places in Southern India the principal import was great quantities of specie, *χρήματα πλείστα*.

These statements are specially valuable for the light which they throw upon the question of the coinage of the Kushān Indo-Scythians. Both writers were contemporary with the two great Kushān princes—Wema Kadphises and Kanishka; and there can be little doubt that a large portion of the Roman gold *denarii* imported at Barygaza must have been carried to the Panjāb, where they were recoined as *dinārs* by the Kushān princes. That the Roman gold did find its way to the north is certain, as many specimens have been extracted from Stūpas in the Kabul valley and Panjāb. But so far as I am aware very few specimens have been found elsewhere. In Southern India the Roman gold was not recoined, but remained current in company with the punch-marked silver coins. In the north the Kushāns struck no silver, and this fact is explained by the statement of the *Periplus* that the silver coins of Apollodotus and Menander were still current in his time. Along with them the tetradrachmas of Euthydemus and Eukratides must have been in common circulation, as well as the numerous hemidrachmas of the Greek princes Menander, Apollodotus, Antimachus II., and Hermōeus, and the great mass of the native punch-marked silver coins.

To this influx of Roman gold I attribute the adoption of the Roman standard of 123 grains, with the name of *dinār*, both of which continued in use for many centuries in Northern India.

⁶ McCrindle's translation of *Periplus*, pp. 121-128.

Herr Von Sallet calls the silver coins with native legends a "reduced standard," by which I suppose him to mean that the 37 and 148 grain coins are *reduced* drachmas and tetradrachmas. Mr. Gardner, however, seems rather to look upon them as belonging to some Persian standard, with hemidrachmas of 40 grains and didrachmas of 160 grains. But I am not aware of any Persian standard comprising coins of these weights. The Persian *siglos* weighed upwards of 86 grains, and its double 172 grains. There are also many large silver pieces of 5 *sigli*, or quarter daries, which range up to 438·5 grains. My own heaviest piece weighed 433·5 grains, which would give a *siglos* of 86·6 grains. But surely the Indian Greeks and Indo-Scythians might be allowed the faculty of adjusting the weights of their coins to suit their own wants. My own opinion is that the change in the weights first of the silver coins and afterwards of the gold coins was made simply to adjust the pieces to the rate of the day.

THE INDO-SCYTHIANS.

PART I.—HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The name of Indo-Scythia is first found in Ptolemy's *Geography*, where it is confined to the provinces on both banks of the Indus, from the junction of the Kabul river down to the sea. Dionysius Periegetes uses the term "Southern Scythians," Νότιοι Σκύθαι, for the people of the provinces,⁷ for which his commentator Eustathius substitutes the now well-known name of "Indo-Scythians." At the present day the name is made to include all the races of Scythian origin who held the countries lying between Persia and India for nearly nine centuries, from the occupation of Bactriana by the Sakas and Kushans down to the conquest of Sindh and Kabul by the Arabs in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

The countries thus occupied by the Indo-Scythians were—

I.—*Bactriana*, or the provinces lying between the river Jaxartes and the Indian Caucasus, comprising Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana.

II.—*Ariana*, or the provinces to the south of the Indian Caucasus, from Herat on the west to the Indus on the east, comprising Aria and Drangiana, Arakhosia and Gedrosia, with the Paropamisade of the Kabul valley.

III.—The *Panjâb*, or upper provinces of the Indus and its tributaries, from Taxila to the junction of the Five Rivers.

IV.—*Sindh*, or the lower provinces of the Indus valley, which, according to Ptolemy, included both Patalene and Syraстrene.

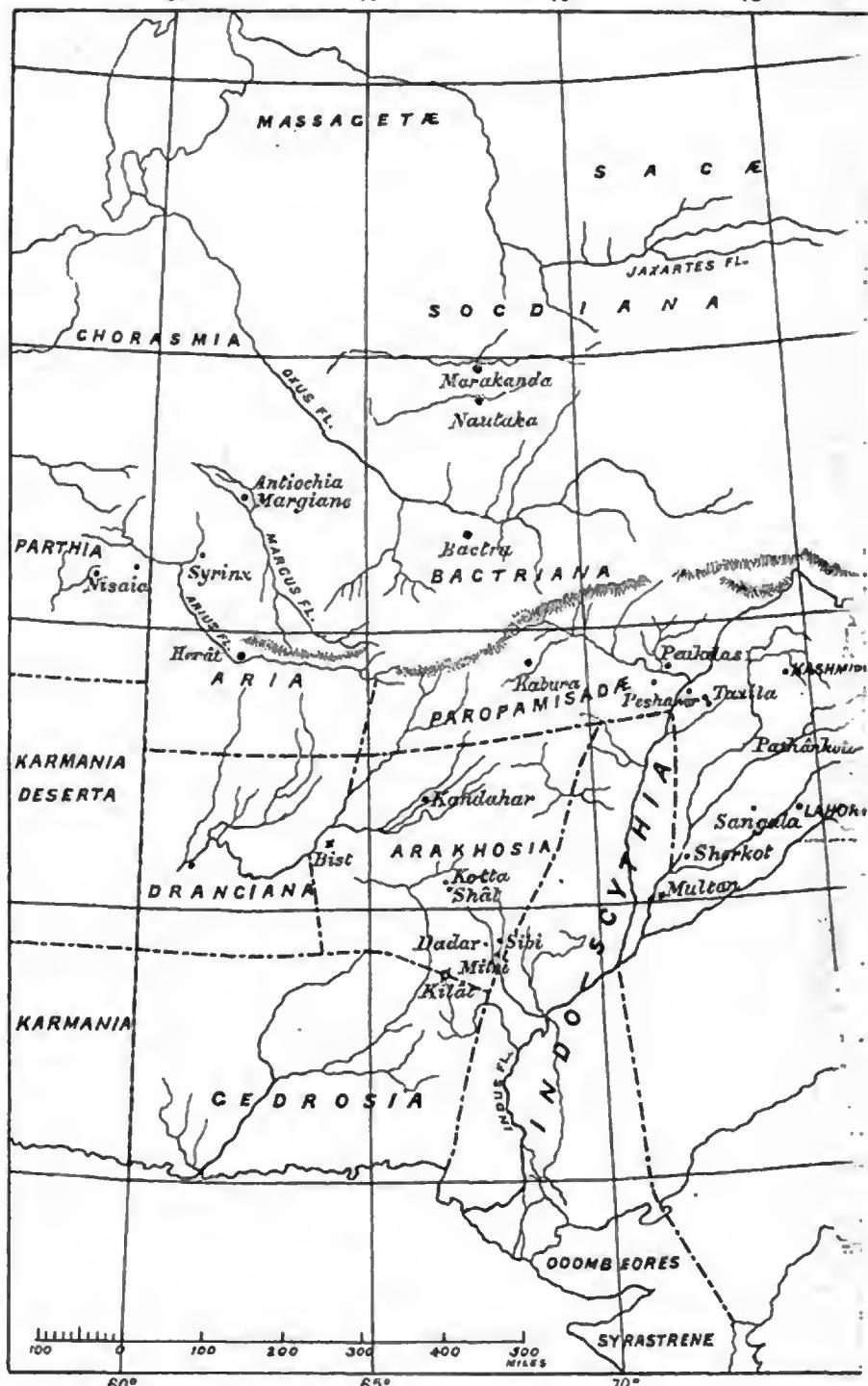
⁷ V. 1088, Ινδὸν πὰρ ποταμὸν Σκύθαι ἵνατονσιν.

60°

65°

70°

75°



BACTRIANA ARIANA, N. W. INDIA.



The Scythians who opposed Cyrus and Alexander on the Jaxartes are described by the Greeks as Massagetae, while their Persian neighbours knew them only as Sakas, or Sacæ.⁸ Pliny says that the more ancient writers called them Aramii, and adds that both in their life and habits they resembled the Parthians. This is confirmed by Justin, who declares the Parthians to be only a separate branch of the Scythian family.

The country which the Scythians occupied between the Jaxartes and Oxus was known to the ancient Persians by the general name of Turân, and the name of Turanian is now applied to designate the Scythic version of the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius. All the provinces to the south of the Jaxartes belonged to the Achaemenian kings of Persia, and the Scythic version of the inscriptions must have been published for the information of the Turanian subjects of Darius. There can be no doubt therefore that the great bulk of the people on both banks of the Oxus were of Scythian origin. Thus, according to both Herodotus and Ktesias, the Parthians, Hyrkanians, and Derbikkæ, who were all of Scythian descent, were located to the south of the Oxus as early as the time of Darius. In the cuneiform inscriptions the *Umu-warka*, or *Amurgii* Scythians, are described as forming an integral part of the Persian empire; and in the time of Xerxes they furnished a contingent for the invasion of Greece. During the long Persian rule it is probable that the people of the fertile provinces of the Oxus had become more civilised than those to the north of the Jaxartes, by continued intercourse and

⁸ Plinii, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. p. 19. In the Babylonian version of the inscriptions of Darius, *Namiri* is substituted for *Saka*. Perhaps *Aramii* should be *Amarii*.

frequent intermarriage with their Aryan rulers. In fact, Strabo describes the manners of the Bactrians and Sogdi-ans as more civilised, although their mode of life was still nomadic.⁹

The language spoken by these Turanian subjects of Persia must therefore have been closely connected with that used in the euneiform inscriptions of Darius. The names of people and of things which have come down to us show no traces of Semitic origin, but have many strong affinities with the Aryan language of India and Persia. Thus *saprakim*, "battle," must be connected with the Sanskrit *samara*, which is found in the name of *Samarkand*, while *tipi*, a "tablet," is the same as the Pali *lipi*. But the bulk of the language would appear to be different, and to have more affinity with some of the dialects of Northern India. Justin calls the language mixed Scythian and Median.¹⁰ The following examples may be given in illustration of this opinion.

Amongst the Dards of the Indus the king's title is *Tham*, which is perhaps only a dialectic variety of the old Hiong-nu *Vam*, and is probably connected with the Sanskrit *dam*, the Greek δαμάζω, the Latin *dominus*, and the English *tame*. This title, I think, corresponds exactly with Justin's *Tanaus*, King of the Scythians. Herodotus mentions *Tomyris* as Queen of the Getæ, and Pliny explains *Temerinda* as "mother of the sea." By adding the feminine suffix *ero* to *tham*, we get both *Tomyris* and *Temeri*, and by adding *dá* = "water," we get *Temerindá*, as "Queen of Waters." The common terms for water amongst the aborigines of N. India are *dá*, *de*, *di*, or *ta*, *te*,

⁹ *Geography*, xi., 11, 8.

¹⁰ *Justin*, xli. p. 2.

ti. The longer name of *Thamimasada*, which Herodotus gives for the "King of the Sea," may perhaps be explained by the interposition of *massa*=great, thus making *Thamimasada*, or "king of the great water," or "lord of the sea."

That this word for water once prevailed over Northern India may be seen in the names of *Pad-dâ*, or Ganges, *Bahu-dâ*, or Brahmaputra, *Narma-dâ*, or Narbada, *Manadâ*, or Mahanadi, *Vara-dâ*, or Warda River, alias "Banyan-tree River." Other names are *Kalin-dî*, or Jumna, *Betwan-ti*, or Betwa, and *Kiyán-ti*, or Ken. I think it probable also that such names as *Charmanvati*, *Airavati*, and others may have been Sanskritized from older forms in *ti*. We have an example in the *Pára-ti*, a principal branch of the Satluj, which has no connection whatever with *Párvati*.

The different races of Scythians which have successively appeared as conquerors in the border provinces of Persia and India are the following, in the order of their arrival:—

B.C. ? *Sakas* or *Sacæ*, the *Su* or *Sai* of the Chinese.

B.C. 163. *Kusháns*, or *Tochari*, the Great *Yue-chi* of the Chinese.

A.D. 440. *Kidaritæ*, or later *Kusháns*, the Little *Yue-chi* of the Chinese.

A.D. 470. *Ephthalites*, or white Huns, the *Ye-tha-i-li-to* of the Chinese.

The most detailed accounts of these different races we owe to the Chinese; but the short notices of classical authors, both Greek and Roman, are often of great value, either in confirming the Chinese accounts or in fixing the dates of important events. Generally they serve to corroborate each other, but there is a lamentable paucity of intelligible names in the Chinese records, owing chiefly to the incapacity of the Chinese syllables to express

foreign names, and partly also to an absurd practice of the Chinese people in altering some of the names so as to obtain an opprobrious or derogatory meaning in Chinese. Thus the *Ta-yue-chi* meant only the "Great Lunar Race," who were not recognised by the later Chinese writers under the name of *Tu-ho-lo*, or Tochari, as described by Hwen Thsang. Similarly the ancient name of Kipin (or Kophene) was concealed under the later appellation of *Tsau-ku-ta*, and was absolutely lost under that of *Sie-iu*, which was imposed by the Empress *Wu-hen*, shortly after A.D. 684. Similarly also the *Ye-tha-i-li-to*, by having their name curtailed to *Ye-tha*, were not recognised as the Ephthalites, or White Huns, although they were both recorded to have been dominant in the same country at the same time. On the other hand the ancient name of *Hien-yun* was changed to *Hiong-nu*, or "unhappy slaves," which effectually disposes of their supposed connection with the Huns. With these preliminary remarks I will now try to put together the scattered links of Indo-Scythian history as derived from all sources.

During the sway of the Achæmenian kings the inroads of the Scythians of the Jaxartes were kept in check by the frontier satraps. After the death of Alexander the same check was maintained under the vigorous rule of Antiochus, the Governor of the Eastern Provinces, who resided at Margiané, or Merv. But about eighty years later they had already begun to give trouble to the Bactrian Greeks, and Euthydemus was allowed by Antiochus the Great to retain his kingdom, on the plea that, if he was weakened, he would not be able to withstand the Scythians. Early in the second century B.C., as related by the Chinese, the horde of the great *Yue-chi*, or *Tochari*, was driven across the Jaxartes by the *Hiong-nu*, and, after

the loss of their king in battle, settled in Sogdiana in B.C. 163. The *Sus* or *Sais*, or the Massagetae or Sakas of the Greeks and Persians, retired before them, and after a time the Yue-chi continued their advance into Bactria, to the south of the Oxus, of which they took possession about 130 B.C. The *Ta-hia*, or Dahæ, then retired to the west towards Margiana, while the *Su* or *Sakas* retreated to the south towards Drangiana.¹¹

Mithridates I. of Parthia, who died in B.C. 135, took advantage of this period of confusion to wrest the two satrapies of Aspiones and Turiva from Eukratides, at the same time that he checked the Scythians. The position of these satrapies is unknown, but I conclude that they must have been on the west and south-west frontiers of the Bactrian kingdom, i.e. in Margiana and Aria, along the rivers Margus and Arius. The annexation of these provinces would have been easy, and would have brought the Parthians face to face with the retiring Saka Scythians. The victories of Mithridates would have stopped the further progress of the Dahæ, while the Sakas managed to make good their retreat into Arachosia and Drangiana. That they reached the latter province we know from the fact that after their occupation it received the name of *Sakastene* [Σακαστήνη Σάκων Σκύθων], a name which was altered to Sejistān by the mediæval writers, and is now preserved in the modern Sistān.

The Chinese fix the date of the occupation of Bactria by the Great Yue-chi or Tochari about B.C. 130, which agrees with the period of the defeat of Phraates II. of Parthia, who fell in battle with the Saka Scythians in B.C. 127 or 126. These Scythians had been engaged to

¹¹ Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. p. 205.

join him in his war against Antiochus, but as they arrived too late he refused to pay them, on which they invaded his territory.

His successor, Artabanus II., was killed three years later, B.C. 124-123, in battle with the Tochari. The notice of these Yue-chi is derived from the Chinese General Chang-Kian, who in B.C. 126 was sent by the Chinese Emperor Wuti to obtain their aid against the Hiong-nu. He was captured by them, but after ten years managed to escape, and returned to China in B.C. 116, having failed to induce the Yue-chi to join in a campaign against the Hiong-nu. He reported that he had found the Yue-chi in full possession of Bactriana. From another notice we learn that about 100 years later, or say about B.C. 16, the chief of the Kushâns conquered the other four tribes of the Yue-chi, and assumed the title of "King of the Kushâns." This chief, who was named *Khieu-tseu-kio*, has been identified with Kujula Kadphises of the coins. He crossed the Indian Caucasus and overran Pota and Kipin, and took possession of the Kabul valley. Pota has been identified by Viv. de St. Martin with *Pathânska* or *Pukhtânska*, the country of the Pathâns, while Kipin is generally admitted to be Arakhosia, which was anciently known as Kophene.

Later notices of the progress of the Sakas and Kushâns will be best kept separate. There can be no doubt that they came into conflict at an early date in the Panjâb, as that province was annexed by the Kushân King *Yun-kao-ching*, the son of Kujula, in the first century A.D., while we know from the evidence of the coins that the great Saka kings, Moas, Azas, and Azilises must have had a firm hold of it during the first century B.C.

The origin of the name of *Sakâ* is still uncertain. Tho

general opinion is in favour of the Persian *Sag*, a "dog," which is still used as a derogatory term by the Persians for their enemies. I have seen a short history of Bahâ-walpur, in which the Raja of Bikaner was throughout designated as the *Sag*. But there still exists a tribe to the north-east of Ladîk who bear the name *Sok-po*, or simply *Sok* as *po* is the masculine suffix in Tibetan, *Sok-po* meaning a *Sok*-man, and *Sok-mo* a *Sok* woman. Pliny's statements that they were anciently called *Aramii* is perhaps supported by the Babylonian version of the inscriptions of Darius, in which *Namiri*, or the "hunting leopards," is substituted for *Saka*. By a slight transposition the *Aramii* would become *Amarii* or *Namiri*.

SAKAS, OR SACÆ-SCYTHIANS.

According to the Chinese accounts the *Su* or *Sai*, or *Sakas*, on being driven out of the countries on the Oxus by the *Yue-chi*, or *Tochari*, retired to the south and occupied *Kipin*, or *Kophene*, comprising Arakhosia and Drangiana. The tribes of the *Sai* then spread over the country and formed different kingdoms, and it is specially stated that all the dependencies of *Hiau-siun* and *Siun-tu* (Sindh) were inhabited by ancient tribes of the *Sai*.¹² The country which they occupied was then called *Sakastene* after them.¹³ It is the *Sejistân* of the early Muhammadans, and the *Sistân* of the present day. Isidorus of Kharax

¹² Remusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. p. 205. Pauthier, *Chine*, i. p. 242. A third tribe of the *Sai* was named *Kuen-to*. It numbered 300 families.

¹³ Avienus, v. p. 1297, uses the form of *Sagam infidum*; and Orosius also uses *Sagam* as the name of the country to which St. Thomas was sent.

calls it Σακαστήνη Σάκων Σκύθων, and gives the following names of its towns: 1. Barda; 2. Min; 3. Palakenti; 4. Sigal; 5. Alexandria; 6. Alexandropolis. The fourth town *Sigal*, which is designated as *Regia Sacarum*, or the "capital of the Sakas," I would identify with *Shâl*, by the simple elision of the letter *g*. *Shâl* or *Kotta* ("the forts," vulgo *Quetta*) has always been a place of consequence. Its commanding position, on the high road from Kandahar to the Lower Indus, must have insured its occupation at a very early date. For the same reason it is now occupied by a British garrison. It is most probably the *Kottobara* of Ptolemy.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium the two cities named Arakhosia and Arakhoti, were near the country of the Massagetae, or in other words near Sakastene, the country of the Sakas, who were of the same race as the Massagetae.

I will now give a few notices of each of the three different provinces which the Sakas occupied: 1. Sakastene or Sejistân; 2. Sindh; 3. The Panjâb.

1.—THE SAKAS OF SAKASTENE AND KIPIN.

Closely connected with the Su or Sakas were the *Tathia*, or *Dahæ*, who were driven out of their country by the Tochari or Kushâns at the same time. These *Dahæ* are said to have retired to the west. Now *Dahæ* was not a true national name, but only a term of reproach or abuse given to the nomads by their Persian and Indian neighbours. The original word in the Sanskrit, *dasyu*, "an enemy or robber," which in Persian became *dahyu*, from which the Greeks formed *Dahæ*, Δάαι, and also Δάσαι. The spoken form in India is *Dâku*, which is found in the Latin

Dacia. A similar term is still applied to the people on the east of the Caspian, whose country is now called *Dághistan* or *Dahistan*, or "Rebel-land."

Strabo couples the Dahæ with the Sacæ and Massagetae, and adds that they were divided into three tribes—1. Parni or Aparni; 2. Xanthii or Xandii; and 3. Parii or Pissuri. As Justin¹⁴ calls the first tribe *Spartani*, I conclude that Strabo's name must have been *Sapurni*, and that these people, the worshippers of *Sapal* or Herakles, must have given their name to *Zâbulistan*, or Arakhosia and Drangiana, which is only another name for Sakastene.

The *Xanthii* are very probably the *Zâths* of the early Arab writers. As the *Zâths* were in Sindh to the west of the Indus, this location agrees very well with what we know of the settlement of the Sakas on the Indian frontier. In fact the Chinese expressly say that all the dependencies of *Hien-siun* and *Siun-tu* (Sindh) were occupied by ancient tribes of *Sai*, or Sakas.¹⁵

According to the Chinese these Saka tribes afterwards separated, and formed several distinct states under separate rulers. This statement seems to be borne out by the three distinct dynasties of kings, whose names have been preserved to us on the coins; the one proceeding from Vonones in Arakhosia, a second from Moas and Azas in the Panjab, and a third from the Kshaharâta tribe in Sindh, to which the great Satrap Nahapâna belonged.

The Kshaharâtas would appear to have extended their territories beyond the limits of Sindh into Kachh (the *Odombeores* or *Audumbara*) and Gujarat (*Surâshtra*), and

¹⁴ *Justin*, xli. p. 1.

¹⁵ Remusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. p. 206.

perhaps even to Malwa. One inscription of the Satrap Nahapāna is dated in the year 42, but unfortunately no era is mentioned. If referred to the Seleukidan century beginning in 12 B.C., the date would be $42 - 12 = 30$ A.D., or just forty-eight years before the establishment of the Saka era, and the probable date of Chashtana of Ujain (Tiastanes of Ozene).

I think it probable that some reference to this southern invasion of the Sakas may be preserved in the short Sanskrit work named *Kālakachārya Kathā*, describing the "Inroads of the Indo-Scythians into India." This short treatise was brought to notice by Dr. Bhau Dāji, in the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*.¹⁶ The account is as follows:—"Shortly before the Christian era the Sakas held possession of the country on the western bank of the Indus under petty chiefs called *Sāki*, who were subject to one paramount ruler named *Sāhina-sāhi*. The Sakas crossed the Indus into Sūrashtra, and advanced to Avantidesa (Mālwa), where they defeated Raja Gardabhilla, and took possession of Ujain. Here they remained for four years until they were driven out by Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, in B.C. 57."

As the dynasty of the *Kshaharātas* was succeeded by the new dynasty of *Chashtana* (or Tiastanes), I think it most probable that the notice by the author of the *Periplus* of Parthian rivals driving out one another must refer to these two dynasties of Scythian princes. The names of Nahapāna and Chashtan, which are certainly not Indian, seem to have some connection with the similar forms of Artapanus and Haustanes, both Parthian or Partho-Scythian names.

¹⁶ *Journal*, ix. p. 189.

How firmly settled were these Sakas of Western India is most decidedly shown by some of their inscriptions which still exist in the Nâsik caves. Thus I find that the son-in-law of the Kshaharâta King Nahapâna calls himself a *Saka*. In one inscription he is designated as the *Saka Ushavadûta, the son of Dinika, and the husband of Dakshamitrû, the daughter of Nahapâna*. None of these names are Indian, except perhaps that of Dakshamitrû. Another inscription is dated in the year 42, on the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. As it must precede the establishment of Chashtana in A.D. 78, I am inclined to refer the year to the Seleukidan century which began in 12 B.C., which would fix the date to B.C. 12 — 42 = A.D. 30.¹⁷

Two other short inscriptions record the gifts of another Saka chief named *Dâma-cheke*.¹⁸

The Sakas of Sejistân are repeatedly mentioned in the history of the Arsakian and Sassanian kings.

In B.C. 77 or 76, Sanatroikes obtained the throne by the aid of the Sakarauli Scythians, amongst whom he had previously sought refuge.¹⁹

In B.C. 33 Phraates IV. fled to the Scythians, who replaced him on the throne.

In A.D. 16 Artabanus III., with the assistance of the Dahæ and Sakæ, obtained the throne. He had previously lived amongst the Dahæ.²⁰

In A.D. 40 Goterzes was similarly assisted by the Dahæ.

¹⁷ See *Bombay Journal*, vii., West's Inscriptions from Nâsik, No. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2.

¹⁹ *Phlegon apud Photium*, quoted by Mr. Percy Gardner, and Lucian, *Macrobi*. 15.

²⁰ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*; Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 3.

A.D. 230 Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sassanian monarchy, was unable to reduce the Sejistānis. According to Agathias (ii. 164), quoted by Gibbon, "the princes of Sejistān defended their independence during many years," and were not finally conquered until the reign of Varaban II., A.D. 275—292. Gibbon calls the Sejistānis "one of the most warlike nations of Upper Asia."

From this time the province of Sejistān, or Sakastene, formed one of the tributary provinces of the Sassanian empire. Accordingly in A.D. 350—357 the Sejistānis furnished a contingent to Sapor II. for the siege of Amida. They were reckoned the bravest of his troops, and they brought into the field a large body of elephants.²¹

In A.D. 650 Yezdegird, the last Sassanian king, fled from Istakhar through Kermān and Sejistān to Khorasān, and in the following year a Muhammadan army occupied Zarang, the capital of Sejistān.²²

2.—THE SAKAS IN SINDH.

An early notice of the Saka Scythians on the Indus is given by the author of the *Periplus*, who says that "Minnagar, the metropolis of Scythia, was in his time governed by Parthian princes, who were perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other."²³ The date of the *Periplus* is not accurately known. But the mention of Zoskales (Za Hakale), King of Abyssinia, who reigned from 77 to 89 A.D., and of a King of the Nabataians, whose kingdom was absorbed by Trajan in A.D. 105, serve to fix his date between 80 and 100 A.D. As we

²¹ Ammian, Marcell., xix. pp. 2, 3.

²² H. M. Elliot, *Muhammadan Hist. of India*, by Dowson, ii. p. 218.

²³ Translation by McCrindle, p. 108.

know that the Kings of Parthia proper at this time did not possess any territory even near the Indus, the so-called Parthian rulers must refer to the Indo-Scythian Sakas, who were of the same race as the Parthians.

The position of Minnagar has not been identified, but I feel nearly certain that it must have been at Brâmanâbâd, which is one of the oldest sites in Sindh. It was the "city of Brahmans" of Alexander's historians. Its Hindu name was Brahmanawâsi, which was changed to Brâmanâbâd by the Muhammadans, who afterwards built Mansura close to it.

As Pliny lived within a very short time of the author of *Periplus*, it is quite possible that the dynasty of Parthian kings then ruling on the lower Indus might be mentioned by him. I find the *Odombeores* or *Audumbaras*, the people of Kachh, duly recorded, and immediately preceding them are the *Varetatae* or *Suarataratae*.²⁴ As the name has evidently been corrupted, I think it not impossible that the true reading may have been *Suaratae*, and that they may be identified with the *Kahaharatas* of the western cave inscriptions, of one of whose rulers, named *Nahapâna*, we possess coins as well as inscriptions. As the *Kshaharatas* were certainly succeeded by another Scythian race under *Chashtan* (*Tiastanes* of Ptolemy), the description of Parthians expelling each other would seem to be well illustrated by the proposed identification.

There is now a gap of several centuries in the history of Sindh which is not likely ever to be filled up, as all the histories of Sindh begin with the Sahasi dynasty which ruled for one hundred and thirty-seven years preceding the accession of the Brahman Chach, that is from

²⁴ Plinii, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. p. 28.

A.D. 505 to 642. The names given in the Chachnâma are corrupt, but they are quite sufficient to prove that the kings were Scythians. All of them are named *Sâhi*, or *Sâhasi*, which is the well-known Scythian title. Five kings are mentioned, of whom the only thing related is that the fourth king was attacked and killed by Nimroz (Parvez, King of Persia) in A.D. 627. But on the authority of Kosmas the new dynasty must have been White Huns or Ephthalites. They would therefore have had no connection with the first Saka conquerors. Unfortunately no names are recorded in the histories of Sindh, but each is called simply *Rai Sâhi* or *Sâhasi*. As this seems to be only the common Scythian title of *Sâhi*, we have no means of discriminating one prince from another. I believe, however, that I have found the name of the leader in *Jibawin*, who formed the great reservoir of Suraj Kund at Multân. His name is also variously written as Jaswin, Jasur, and Jalbur, but as I possess coins bearing the names of *Jabubal* and *Jabukha*, I incline to adopt *Jabukan* as the correct form.

The testimony of Kosmas, who actually visited the country to the west of the Indus about A.D. 530, is perhaps sufficient to show that the Scythian dynasty which ruled over Sindh from A.D. 507 to 642 must have been White Huns. As the inscription of Yasodharma, King of Mâlwa, A.D. 532, mentions that he ruled over countries which neither the Guptas nor the Hûnas had possessed, there is some difficulty as to what countries are intended. The Panjab is most probably alluded to, as no trace of Gupta rule has yet been found there. Perhaps Sindh is also referred to, in which case the rule of the Hûnas in the time of Kosmas must have been confined to the western bank of the middle Indus. The histories of

Sindh are unanimous in claiming Mekrân as one of the provinces of the kingdom during the rule of the Sâhasi kings. I infer therefore that Yasodharma's conquests did not extend to Sindh, but may probably have included Northern Rajputâna. The mention of the overthrow of Sakas in *Ruma* (in the Salt country) by Vikramâditya about A.D. 530 must refer either to the *Sambhar lake* district near *Ajmer*, or to the Salt Mines in the Panjâb, and at Kâlâbagh to the west of the Indus. The latter seems the more probable, as the city of *Rhon*, 'Pôv, is described as belonging to the Scythian Gandarike, just as Hekataeus describes *Kaspapuros*.

I annex a list of these Scythian kings of Sindh as preserved in the native histories. If their title was *Shâhi*, they would have some claim to be taken as Sakas, as the White Huns had adopted the title of *Khâkân*.

A.D.	Kings of Sindh.
505.	Diwâij, ? Jibawin.
533.	Siharas, Sahiras, ? Gollas of Kosmas Indicopleustes.
566.	Diwâij, or Rai Sâhasi, or Shâhi-shâhi. ²⁵
600.	Siharas, Sahiras invaded by Persians in A.D. 627, killed.
627.	Sâhasi, Rai Shâhi.
642.	Chach Brabman conquers Sindh.

The territory held by these princes extended from the frontier of Kashmir to the mouths of the Indus, and from Mekrân to the frontier of Kanauj. In A.D. 641, Hwen Thsang says that the reigning king was a *Siu-to-lo*, that is a Sudra. The names seem so much alike, Sâhasi, Sahiras, and Rai Shâhi, that I cannot help suspecting they may be only a title repeated with slight changes as Rai-Shâhi or Shâhi-Rai. Now Shâhi is a well-known Scythian

²⁵ H. M. Elliot, *Muh. Hist.*, i. p. 405, gives five names from the *Tuhfat ul Kirâm*.

title which is found on most of the Indo-Scythian coins of the Sassanian period. This is the more probable as I find mention of an ancient King of Multān named *Jibauṭn*, who excavated the Suraj Kund and built a great temple containing a golden image. He may perhaps be the founder of the dynasty *Diwāij*. A more probable identification is that of *Diwāij* with the prince named *Devajari*, two of whose silver coins were found in the great Mānikyala Stūpa by General Ventura.²⁶ The Indian legend on these coins I read as follows.—

Sri Hitī-cha Airān cha parameswara.

Sri Shāhi-tigin Devajāri.

The fortunate lord of India and Persia.

The fortunate valiant prince (Shāhi) Devajāri.

It will be observed that all the leading consonants *d*, *v*, *j*, occur in both names joined with a long *a*.

All the other recorded names appear to be only corruptions of the title of Shāhin Shāhi.

I am disappointed at not finding any trace of the name of Gollas in these lists of the native historians of Sindh. I am even more disappointed at the omission of all mention of Vāsu Deva, King of Multān, Uch, and Bāhmana, as declared on his coins. He was almost certainly one of the rulers of Sindh of this very dynasty, as the style of his coins shows that he belonged to the later Sassanian period.²⁷

Both of the coins just noticed might perhaps be said to belong properly to Multān. But there is a large number of coins in all three metals, which bear only the title of *Sri-Shāhi*, or in some cases only *Shāhi*, which might

²⁶ See my *Archaeological Report*, v. p. 121, and Pl. XXXVII.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

belong to the kings of Sindh, whose names have not been handed down. But as most of these anonymous coins, and as I believe that *all* of the gold ones, have been found in the Northern Panjab or Lower Kabul valley, I am inclined rather to assign them to the Rajas of Sâkala and Gândhâra. It is unfortunate that very few of the names have been preserved, and these mostly disguised in the strange forms of Chinese monosyllables.

Masudi records that a prince named Ranbal, who reigned in the valley of the Indus, after subjugating Eastern Persia, had "advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates."²⁸ This conqueror may, I think, be identified with the king who on his coins claims to be lord "both of India and of Persia" (*Sri Hititi-cha Airân-cha parameswara*). Such an inroad might perhaps have been successful after the murder of Khusru II. in 628 A.D. This is the more probable as the ruler of Sindh had to revenge the invasion of his own country and the death of his predecessor. As Parvez had invaded Sindh by Kirmân and Mekrân, the Sindhan king would no doubt have followed the same route. I see nothing improbable in this raid, as the Persian empire never recovered its strength after the death of Parvez.

Kaikân or *Kikân*, an outlying district of Sindh on the west towards Mekran, suffered from several early invasions of the Muhammadans, who were intent upon seizing horses of a fine large breed for which the country was famous. It is the *Ki-kiamg-nu* of Hwen Thsang, who also mentions its good horses. Bilâduri calls the people *Tûrks*, by which term he probably meant Indo-Scythians. The province seems to be identical with the northern and

²⁸ Elliot's *Muham. Hist. of India*, ii. p. 418.

hilly half of Biluchistan, comprising Kilât and the country of the Brahûis. In the Chachnâma mention is made of a high mountain called *Kaikârân*. I suspect that this name may be identified with the fort of *Kâpishkânîsh*, in Arakhosia, which was seized by a rebel against Darius Hystaspes. We know that the name of the town of *Kaithal* is a simple contraction of *Kapisthala* (the Kam-bistholi of Arrian). In the same way I think that *Kâpishkânîsh* might be contracted to *Kaikân*. Sir Henry Rawlinson thinks that the place must be looked for in the direction of Sistân, as the satrap of Arakhosia would probably have met the force advancing from Persia on the frontier of his province.

3.—SAKAS IN THE PANJÂB.

There is no direct historical evidence that the Sakas ever occupied the Panjâb, but the three great kings, Moas, Azas, and Azilises, whose coins are found chiefly in the Panjâb, and very rarely to the west of the Indus, are universally accepted as Saka Scythians. They certainly preceded the Kushân Prince Kujula Kadphises and his successors, with whom they seem to have nothing in common, whereas their connection with the Saka dynasty of Vonones and his successors is undoubted, as the name of Azas is found joined with those of Vonones and Spali-rises. They agree also in having an extensive silver coinage of the same types, without a single specimen of gold,²⁹ while the Kushâns have an abundant gold coinage and no silver money, excepting only a solitary piece of Wema Kadphises.

²⁹ I may note here that my friend Pandit Bhagwân Lâl had a gold coin of Spalahores, but it was a forgery.

There is, however, a decided testimony of Saka occupation of some portion of Western India as late as the latter half of the fourth century in the mention by Samudra Gupta of the presents received from the Kushâns, Sakas, and Murundas: "*Daivaputra Shâhi-Shâhânu Shâhi, Saka, Murundaih.*"

Sakas are also mentioned in the beginning of the fifth century as opponents of a Vikramâditya of Mâlwa, and to them I would attribute the rude Indo-Sassanian coins which are now so abundant in Rajputâna. According to the Hindu accounts this prince conquered the Sakas in *Ruma*.³⁰ He is perhaps the same prince as Yasodharma, of Mr. Fleet's Mandisur inscription, who possessed countries which neither "the Gupta kings nor the Hûnas could subdue."³¹ The same prince also boasts of having subdued King *Mihirakula*. As Yasodharma's inscription is dated in A.D. 532, it seems very probable that he must be the Vikramâditya of the native legend, the contemporary of Kâlidâs and Varâhamihira. But the Mihirkul whom he subdued must have been the Mihirkul, son of Toramâna of Malwa, and not the great Mihirkul, Raja of Kashmir.

It is worthy of remark also that these Saka princes, Azas and his successors, must have employed Indian servants, such as the General Aspa Varma, son of Indra Varma, as well as a son of Vijayamitra, whose name is lost on my coins. Others were no doubt only Scythian adventurers, like Jihonia and Rajubul, whose coins belong to the same period. They must have been in the service of some of the later Greek princes, and who, as their

³⁰ Bhau Daji in *Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society*, vi. p. 26

³¹ *Indian Antiq.*, xv. p. 255, Mr. Fleet's inscription.

masters' power became weaker, had gradually acquired strength, until some of them became independent. Moas, for instance, may have been a successful general under Menander and Apollodotus, and after their death a successful rebel, who wrested the Panjâb from Hermæus. The coins of Moas are found chiefly about Taxila (Shâhdheri and Mansera) and in the country between the Indus and Chenâb rivers.

Some of the later Greek princes would seem to have been driven towards the East—Artemidorus perhaps to Kashmir, and Dionysius, Zoilus, and Straton II. to Kangra.

The coins of Azas are also found chiefly in the Western Panjâb; only a few specimens are found in the lower Kabul valley. I obtained a small find from Bajâwar, but I saw twelve large pieces dug up from the inside of a temple at Shâhdheri or Taxila. Not even one was found by Masson at Begrâm, and I may say the same for Mathura, which has yielded a considerable number of the coins of Menander and Apollodotus, Antiochus II. and Straton, with a single type of the nameless king.

The find-spots of the coins of Azilises are the same as those of Azas. One large find of silver coins was made on the bank of the Jhelam river, in the hills between Barahmula and Jhelam.

The rule of Moas and his two successors may have lasted from about 100 B.C. down to the beginning of the Christian era, when the country fell into the hands of the Kushâns.

I can perhaps best illustrate my idea of what may have taken place in the Panjâb on the break up of the Greek power by referring to what actually took place in the same country after the break up of the Muhammadan

empiro of Delhi. All over the country the petty chiefs mado themselves independent, or nearly so. Musalmân chiefs in Multân and Mamdot, Sikh chiefs in Gujrânwala, Kapurthala, Patiâla, Nabha, and Kaithal, and an Englishman, George Thomas, in Hânsi. After a time Ranjit Singh of Gujrânwâla gradually managed to overcome most of his rivals, just as I suppose Moas to have done in ancient times.

There would appear to have been several other adventurers in early days in the Panjâb, who are known to us chiefly from coins. Such are the satrap Jikonia, son of the satrap Manigul, who perhaps gave his name to Mâ-nikyâla, and the satrap Rajubul, who almost certainly held Sangala, as his coins are found in the Eastern Panjâb, and bear the Greek monogram EY for Euthydemia or Sangala.

There are coins also of rajas of the same period, who must have been more or less dependent on the greater chiefs. One of these was *Dhâra Ghosha*, Raja of *Odumbara*, that is of the country of *Dameri* or *Nûrpûr*. Other chiefs are the *Kuninda* Raja Amoghabhûti, and two others named Mahadeva and Rudra Varma. All of these, by their names, must have been native Hindus.

Apparently the Sakas never held any possessions in the Kabul valley, but they probably held Ghazni, which would account for some of their coins being found about Kabul. Whatever hold they may have had on the Panjâb must have been soon lost on the conquest of the country by the Kushâns under Yun-kao-ching, in the first century A.D.

There is a curious passage in the *Mojmal ut Tacârikh*, which certainly refers to these countries on the Indus, and though the period mentioned is said to be that of

Alexander the Great, it is probable that it may preserve some distorted account of the history of the early Saka kings of Sindh, as it cannot possibly refer to the time of Alexander. The following is a brief summary of the passage.³²

In Sindh there were three kings until the time of *Kafand*, کفند, who conquered them all. Kafand was not a Hindu. In the *Chachnâma* he is called *Kaid* the Hindu. Kafand sent his brother Sâmîd to Mansura to expel Mahra, مهرا, the Persian. Sâmîd sought the assistance of *Hâl*, King of India, and Mahra fled. When Kafand died his son Ayand, ایند, succeeded him, and divided his territories into four principalities.

1. Askalandûsa, or Askalandra.
2. Zor (Alor) with Anj (? Uch).
3. Sâmîd's territory (? Sâminagar, or Thatha).
4. Hindustan, Nadama, and Lohâna.

Ayand's son Râsal, راسل, succeeded him, but after a time he was expelled by a rebel. Râsal left two sons, Rowâl, روآل, and Barkamâris, برکاماریس. The latter killed his brother, and became so powerful that all India submitted to him.

Hâl is the well-known name of Sâlivâhan, the founder of the Saka era in A.D. 78.

A similar division of the kingdom of Sindh into four principalities is given in the *Chachnâma*, as follows:—³³

1. Askalandra, with Pâbiya.
2. Alor (with Sewistan).
3. Brahmanâbâd.
4. Multân and Sikka.

³² Elliot's *Muham. Hist.*, i. p. 108.

³³ *Ibid.*, i. p. 188.

These divisions seem to be intended for the same as those of the *Majmal ut Tawârikh*. They were in existence during the rule of the Sâhi kings (A.D. 505—642), and were upheld by Chach, their immediate successor. Pâbiya is said to have been to the south of the Biâs River. It was therefore in the Panjâb, and consequently must have been to the north-east of Multân. I would identify it with Delpâlpur, and then the strong fort of Askulandra would correspond with *Sherkot*, or Alexandreia Soriane.

The dominions of the Saka kings of Sindh are said to have included Mekrân up to the frontiers of Kirmân and Kaikân or Kikân up to the frontiers of Khorasân. Before this time Sakastene or Sistân had become tributary to the Sassanian kings of Persia, while Arakhosia or Kandahâr, the Kipin of the Chinese, would appear to have formed an independent kingdom.

About A.D. 530 Kosmas Indicoplanates travelled over the country to the west of the Indus, which was then under the rule of a king named *Gollas*. He calls the country *Ovvvia, Unnia*. Apparently at that time the name of the White Huns of Sogdiana, the opponents of the Sassanian kings, had become so well known that all peoples between India and Persia were supposed to be of the same race. At this very time also, or A.D. 550, Varâha Mihira places a tribe called *Hâra-Hauras* in the north-western Panjâb.

The coins afford but little or no assistance. According to the Chinese the people of Kipin had coins both of gold and silver, with the head of a man on one side and a horseman on the other side.³⁴ This description agrees only

³⁴ Remusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, i. p. 206.

with the coin types of Miaüs and the nameless king. But there are no gold coins of either of these kings, and only copper coins of the latter. In fact there are no known gold coins of any of the Saka kings.

I see that Wilson describes the coins of the Sakas as having a horseman on one side and a portrait or *figure of a man* on the other.²⁵ If this description be correct it would include all the coins of the known Saka kings of Kipin, Vonones, Spalahora, Spalgadama, and Spalirisha, as well as the Panjāb kings Moas, Azas, and Azilises.

In the Chinese notices of Kipin it is said that a king named U-to-lao was a contemporary of the Emperor Wuti (d. 87 B.C.), and that his son was driven from the throne by a rebel. This looks like a repetition of the story of Ayand and his son Rāsal. But these names seem to offer no resemblance to any of the coin names of Vonones, Spalahora, Spalgadama, or Spalirisha. I suspect, however, that the rebel chief may be the king named *In-mo-fu*, who, according to the Chinese, drove U-to-lao's son from the throne and made himself King of Kipin in B.C. 49. This date is ascertained by the accession of the Emperor Hiao-yuan-to in B.C. 48, who broke off all relations with foreign countries, and would not receive *In-mo-fu's* embassy.

To this king I would ascribe the large silver coins (tetradrachms) with the title of *Turannountos* and the name of *Heräus* or *Miaüs*. In 1861 I read the names as Heräus, but some years later, when I obtained some oboli of the same king, I adopted the reading of *Miaüs* or *Maius*. Mr. Gardner prefers Heräus, and attributes the coins to a king

²⁵ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 311.

of the Sakas, by reading the continuation of the legend as ΣΑΚΑ KOIPANOY. But to this reading I strongly demur. I possess half-a-dozen tetradrachms and thirteen oboli, and on none do I find the letter Κ of ΣΑΚΑ, while on every specimen I find the addition of the letter Β to this word. On one of my coins the word is distinctly ΣΑΝΑΒ; on another specimen I find ΣΑΝΑΟΒ. I also find ΚΟΡΕΑΝΟΥ instead of KOIPANOY, and as this is the early rendering of the tribal name of the Kushāns on the coins of Kujula Kadphises I feel inclined to adopt it, and to read the difficult word *Sanaob* as a Greek rendering of the native title of *Tsanyu* or *Chanyu*, "Son of Heaven," or king. The whole legend would then be of the paramount ruler; *Miaüs* (or *Heiäus*) would therefore be a Kushān king.³⁶ On one of my coins I find HNYANOY instead of KOPEANOV.

In the passage which I have quoted from the *Mojmal ut Tarārikh* the names of four kings are given as the successive rulers of Siudh. As they are specially said to be not of Indian origin there is a strong presumption that they must have been the Scythians who conquered Sindh. Their names, as already quoted, are: 1, *Kafand* or *Kid*; 2, *Ayand*; 3, *Rásal*; and 4, the two sons of the last-named, *Roucál* and *Barkamáris*. It is curious that we possess the coins of just four princes who might possibly be identified with them were it not for the difference in the names. But it seems probable that Vonones and his relatives of the coins must have belonged to Kipin or Arachosia, while Ayand and his posterity belonged to Sindh and the Panjāb.

³⁶ Remusat, *Nour. Mélanges Asiat.*, i. p. 207.

It is possible, however, that they may be represented by Azas and his successors, thus :—

- Ayand may be Aya or Azas.
- Rásal may be Ayilisha or Azilises.
- The rebel might be Jihonia or Zeionises.
- Rowál might be Sapaleizes.
- Barkamáris might be The Nameless King.

Should *Barkamáris* turn out to be a corrupt rendering of *Bikramádit* this last identification might not be improbable, as several of the different types of the Nameless King have the single Arian letter *Vi* in the field. The founder of the dynasty, named *Kafund*, would then be identified with Moga or Moas.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

X.

ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS FROM 1760.

(Continued from page 94.)

LORD BROUGHAM, 1778—1868.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY ELECTION, 1818.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Brougham to right, bare: on neck, MILLS F.
Leg. HENRY BROUGHAM.

Rev.—Within oak-wreath, TO THE PATRIOTIC INCORRUPTIBLE AND UNBOUGHT FREE-HOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND IV JULY MDCCCXVIII.

1·4. MB. Æ. Pl. XI. I.

This medal was struck to commemorate Brougham's candidature for the county of Westmoreland, at the general election in 1818. At the end of the contest Brougham was at the bottom of the poll, his opponents being Lord Lowther and Col. Lowther, whose success was in a great measure due to the support they received from the magistrates and clergy of the neighbourhood. In thanking those who had voted for him, Brougham said he had now to congratulate the people of Westmoreland, for in spite of the acts, the urgent endeavours, and the bribery of the agents of his opponents he had polled "900 votes, free, independent and unbought votes."

MEDALLION BY STOTHARD, 1831.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Brougham to left, bare; on neck, STOTHARD F. 1831.

No reverse.

2·75. MB. ST.

No reverse appears to have been executed for this medal. It is one of a large series made by Stothard of illustrious men of his time.

For other medals of Lord Brougham, see Grey, Earl of.

THOMAS BROWN, 1778—1869.

THE STATIONERS' SCHOOL PRIZE MEDAL FOUNDED, 1871.

- Obv.*—Head of Brown to left, bare; below, T. S. & A. B. WYON SC. *Leg.* THOMAS BROWN BORN 1778 —DIED 1869.

- Rev.*—Within ornamented trefoil, shields of the Stationers' Company, the Brown family, and the City of London; quatrefoil ornaments and oak-leaves in angles of trefoil. *Leg.* ∵ THE STATIONERS' SCHOOL ∵ BROWN MEDAL . FOUNDED 1871.

2. MB. Æ. Pl. XI. 2.

Thomas Brown, born in 1778, was for many years a member of the well-known firm of Messrs. Longmans & Co., Publishers in Paternoster Row. He died in 1869, having bequeathed £5,000 to the Stationers' Company, and a like sum to the School of that Company. The above prize-medal was founded in 1871, and is annually given in bronze with a purse of £5 every midsummer, to the pupil who has done best in the yearly examination.



ENGLISH PERSONAL MEDALS.

($\frac{3}{4}$ of the actual size)



SIR WILLIAM BROWNE, Physician, 1692—1774.

CAMBRIDGE PRIZE MEDAL.

Obv.—Bust of Browne to left, wearing wig and robes.

Leg. Below, D. GVLIELMVS BROWNE,
EQUES . NAT . III . NON . IAN . A . I .
MDCXCII. Above, ESSE ET VIDERI.

Rev.—Apollo seated to left on raised platform, resting his left hand on his lyre, and with right placing laurel wreath on the head of kneeling figure, wearing academical robes and holding scroll and cap. *Leg.* SVNT SVA PRAEMIA LAVDI.
In the exergue, ELECTUS COLL . MED .
LOND . PRAESES A . S . MDCCCLXV.

14. MB. N. M. Pl. XI. 8.

Sir William Browne, Physician, a native of the county of Durham, and the son of a physician, was educated at Cambridge and practised medicine at Lynn, Norfolk, where he lived for over thirty years, but in 1749 he came to live in London. Browne was a Fellow of the College of Physicians and of the Royal Society, and in 1748 he was knighted through the interest of the Duke of Montagu. In 1765—1766, he was President of the College of Physicians, and only held that office for one year on account of the want of respect shown to him on the part of some of the licentiates of the college. He died 10th March, 1774, and by his will founded a scholarship of twenty guineas a year, the holder of which was to remove to Peterhouse, Cambridge, and also three gold medals worth five guineas each, of which the above is an example, to be given to undergraduates at Cambridge for Greek and Latin odes and epigrams.

SIR MARC ISAMBARD BRUNEL, 1769—1849.

COMPLETION OF THE THAMES TUNNEL, 1842.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Brunel to left, bare; below, DAVIS BIRM.
Leg. SIR ISAMBART MARC BRUNEL, F.R.S.
&c.

Rev.—View of the interior of the Thames Tunnel with horseman and foot passengers. Below, THAMES TUNNEL 1200 FEET LONG COMMENCED 1824. COMPLETED 1842. L. 180,000 SUBSCRIB^P BY PROPRIETORS 1828. L. 270,000 GRANTED BY PARLIAMENT 1836. SIR I. M. BRUNEL . ENGINEER. Above, JOS. DAVIS. MEDALLIST BIRMINGHAM.

2·5. MB. AE.

Sir Marc Isambard Brunel was born at Hacqueville, near Gisors, in Normandy, 25th April, 1769; at an early age he entered the navy, but quitting his country on account of the revolution he went to New York, in 1793, and adopted the profession of civil engineer and architect. Having been successful in several competitions, including the designs for the New House of Assembly, at Washington, and the Bowery Theatre, New York, he was appointed Chief Engineer of New York, which office he held till 1799, when he came to England. For the next twenty-five years, Brunel was actively engaged in bringing out new machines of various kinds, for writing and drawing, for winding cotton thread, for knitting, for stereotyping plates for printing, &c., also in the construction of the "block machinery" for the Admiralty, in erecting saw-mills for the Government and other useful works, by which an immense saving of labour was made. In 1812, Brunel made his first experiments in steam navigation on the Thames, but his proposals for the construction of

steam vessels were not favourably received by the government of the day, as being "too chimerical to be seriously entertained." In 1824, he brought before the public his proposals for the construction of the Thames Tunnel, and under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington, a company was formed to carry out the scheme. After a long series of mishaps and delays the tunnel was completed, and opened in March, 1843. Brunel died from the effects of paralysis on the 12th December, 1849. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, being elected in March, 1814, of which body he was a Vice-President in 1832, a member of the French Institute and of various other scientific societies at home and abroad.

There is a variety of this medal. It has below the head on the *obverse* the artist's name, J. TAYLOR MEDALLIST BIRM^X., and on the *reverse* below the tunnel, the inscription, THAMES TUNNEL 1200 FT. LNG. COMMENCED 1824 RECOMMENCED 1835 COMPLETED 1842. (1·9. MB. ST.)

COMPLETION OF THE THAMES TUNNEL, 1842.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Brunel to left, &c., similar to the preceding. Below, W. J. TAYLOR F. WARRINGTON . D.

Rev.—View of the interior of the Thames Tunnel; below, THAMES TUNNEL 1842; above, river with steamboat and sailing-boats. In the field, W. J. TAYLOR F. WARRINGTON . D.

1·65. MB. AE. Pl. XI. 4.

This medal refers also to Brunel's experiments in steam navigation on the Thames, and to the establishment through his endeavours of a line of steamers to ply between London and Margate.

COMPLETION OF THE THAMES TUNNEL, 1842.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Brunel to left, &c., similar to No. 1; below, J. TAYLOR MEDALLIST BIRM^A.

Rev.—Longitudinal view of the Thames Tunnel; above, ships. *Leg.* Above, LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE THAMES TUNNEL FROM ROTHERHITHE TO WAPPING 1200 FT L 180.000 SUBSCRIBED BY PROPRIETORS BY PARLIAMENTARY GRANT L. 270.000. Below, COMMENCED 1824 BROKE IN MAY 1827 & JAN 1828 SUSPENDED TILL 1835 OPENED TO PEDESTRIANS 1842.

2·45. MB. ST.

In consequence of a serious irruption of the river into the tunnel, in 1828, the works were stopped and the tunnel was bricked up for seven years.

COMPLETION OF THE THAMES TUNNEL, 1842.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Brunel to left, &c., same as No. 2.

Rev.—Outer *Leg.* THAMES TUNNEL . FROM ROTHERHITHE TO WAPPING 1200 FEET. Inner *Leg.* COMMENCED JAN^Y 1826 PROGRESSSED 600 FEET JAN^Y 1828. £180,000 SUBSCRIBED BY PROPRIETORS RECOMMENCED 1836 BY PARLIAMENTARY GRANT £270,000 AND COMPLETED 1842.

1·65. MB. AE.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, 1770—1844.

COLDBATH FIELDS PRISON ENQUIRY, 1797.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of convict to left in prison dress. *Leg.* BURDET FOR EVER NO BASTILE.

Rev.—Man flogging convict, naked and tied to post.

1·5. MB. Lead.

Sir Francis Burdett, third son of Sir Robert Burdett, born 25th January, 1770, was educated at Westminster and Oxford, and entered Parliament in 1796 as member for Boroughbridge. He was an ardent liberal and rose quickly in public favour by his repeated attacks on the government in his efforts to expose the genuine grievances of the day. His popularity was further increased by the inquiries which he caused to be made into the mismanagement of the Coldbath Fields Prison, where suspected persons were usually detained under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Acts, and no distinction made in the treatment of these persons and convicted felons. This subject is referred to by the above medal. At the general election in 1802, Burdett was returned for the county of Middlesex, but being unseated he was returned in 1807 by the electors of Westminster, for which borough he sat for thirty years. In 1808 and 1809, several abortive attempts were made to raise the question of reform, all of which were supported by Burdett; and in 1810, having published a speech which he made in the House of Commons, advocating the release of John Gale Jones, a well-known radical orator, who had been imprisoned by the House for breach of privilege, he was judged guilty by the House of the same offence and confined to the Tower, where he remained for several weeks. In 1828, he carried a resolution affirming the expediency of considering the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, and when the Reform Bill came before the House, Burdett supported it with his utmost strength. When the Conservative reaction took place in 1835, Burdett was inclined to support it, and in consequence came into conflict with a large section of his constituency and resigning his seat, was, however, soon re-elected. At

the general election which followed the accession of the Queen, Burdett joined the Conservatives and was returned for North Wiltshire, which county he represented till his death, 23rd January, 1844.

RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE ADVOCATED, 1810.

2. *Obr.*—Bust of Burdett to right, wearing frock-coat, &c.
Leg. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT BART M.P.
 FOR WESTMINSTER. MDCCCX.

Rev.—Within radiated circle, THE INTREPID CHAMPION OF FREEDOM, THE ENLIGHTENED ADVOCATE OF THE RIGHTS & LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

1·9. MB. AE. ST.

This and the next medal refer generally to the many acts of Burdett in defence of the public liberties ; but the immediate cause of their issue was no doubt his defence of John Gale Jones, who was imprisoned for raising a discussion upon the practice of the House as to the exclusion of strangers.

RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE ADVOCATED, 1810.

3. *Obr.*—Bust of Burdett to left, similar to the preceding.
Leg. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

Rev.—Within palm-wreath, ELECTED M.P. MDCCXCVI.
 Below. MDCCCX.

1·65. MB. AE. Pl. XI. 5.

This medal also commemorates Burdett's first election in 1796, when he was returned for Boroughbridge in the Newcastle interest.

HIS COMMITTAL TO THE TOWER, 1810.

4. *Obr.*—Bust of Burdett to right, wearing frock-coat, &c.; around his shoulders, cloak. *Leg.* THE DETERMINED ENEMY OF CORRUPTION & THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRIEND OF HIS SOVEREIGN. ♀

Rev.—Inscription, S^R FRANCIS BURDETT BAR^T M P
COMMITTED TO THE TOWER 6TH APRIL.
1810. BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR
FIRMLY AND DISINTERESTEDLY ASSERT-
ING THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF THE BRIT-
ISH PEOPLE.

1·6. MB. A.R.

When the Speaker issued a warrant for his arrest, Burdett refused to surrender except to superior force. His house was surrounded by the soldiery and much fear was entertained lest a serious riot would occur. On the fourth day of the warrant a forcible entry was made into Burdett's house and he was conveyed to the Tower, the whole city being guarded by many thousands of soldiers.

EMANCIPATION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS ADVOCATED, 1828.

5. *Obr.*—Bust of Burdett to left, &c., same as No. 3.

Rev.—Within laurel-wreath, THE ZEALOUS ADVOCATE OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION MAY 8 1828.

1·7. MB. A.E.

The cause of Catholic Emancipation had, for many years previous to 1824, been advocated both by Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh. In that year the question was strongly supported by the press, and in March, 1825, its

importance was so deeply felt by Sir Francis Burdett, that he ventured to introduce a Relief Bill, which passed the Commons by a majority of 268 to 240, but was rejected by the Lords. A slight reaction now took place, and when a New Relief Bill was introduced in 1827, it was lost in the Commons by a majority of 4, though supported by the last effort of Canning's eloquence ; but the very same measure was, however, carried on the 8th May, 1828, by a majority of 6. The King's speech of the following year (February, 1829), contained a recommendation to Parliament to consider the advisability of removing the civil disabilities of the Catholics, and in consequence, Mr. Peel, on the 5th March, brought forward the necessary Bill, which after passing through Committee was carried by a majority of 178 in the House of Commons, and in the House of Lords by a majority of 106 ; and it became a law of the land on the 13th April, 1829.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON, 1788—1824.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

1. *Obr.*—Bust of Byron to left, wearing cloak and shirt with deep collar ; below, WILLIAM . B . F . (William Binfield). *Ley.* LORD BYRON.

Ree.—Inscription, NATUS MDCCCLXXXVIII . OBIIT MDCXXIV.

1·6. MB. Æ. Pl. XI. 6.

George Gordon, Lord Byron, the famous poet, was born in Holles Street, London, 22nd January, 1788, and died at Missolonghi, a town of Ætolia, Greece, on the 19th April, 1824. We do not give any particulars of Byron's

life, as the chief events of his remarkable career are so well known, and this and the following medals are simply commemorative and refer generally to his fame as a poet.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Byron to left, bare ; below, W. BINFIELD F.
Leg. LORD BYRON.

Rev.—Harp on clouds within floral wreath. *Leg.* NATUS
 ABERDEEN M.DCC.LXXXVIII. OBIIT MIS-
 SOLONGHI M.DCCC.XXIV.

2. MB. AE.

Byron's native place was London and not Aberdeen, as stated on this medal.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

3. *Obv.*—Bust of Byron three-quarters to left, wearing cloak and shirt with deep collar. *Leg.* GEORGE GORDON LORD BYRON. MUDIE D. FAULKNER F.

Rev.—Byron as Apollo standing facing, holding lyre, which he rests on rock; in the background mountains, clouds, and lightning; in the exergue, BORN JAN. 22. 1788. In the field, MUDIE D. FAULKNER F.

2. MB. AE.

This medal was struck after Byron's death, though it mentions only the date of his birth.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of Byron three-quarters to left, wearing coat and shirt with deep collar; on truncation, HALLIDAY F. *Leg.* GEORGE GORDON BYRON, LORD BYRON.

Rev.—Soldier in mournful attitude, resting his elbow on tomb, the base of which is inscribed BYRON NAT. JAN. 22 1788 MORT. APR. 19 1824. At side of monument a burning torch reversed.
Leg. NOMEN FASTI MISCET SUIS GRÆCIA MEMOR. In the exergue, MISSOLONGHI.

1·5. MB. AE.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Byron to left, in high relief; behind, ΒΥΡΩΝ.

Rev.—Bay-tree uninjured by lightning. *Leg.* ΑΦΘΙΤΟΝ ΑΙΕΙ. (Always imperishable.)

Edge inscribed, F. ΠΙΚΕΡΙΝΓ. ΚΑΙ. F. ΦΟΡΤΙΝΓΤΩΝΤΟΣ. ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΙΣ. A. I. ΣΤΟΘΑΡΔ. ΕΠ, αωχδ (Dedication of F. Pickering and F. Forthington, made by A. J. Stothard, 1824).

2·5. MB. AE.

This medal likens the fame of Byron to the bay-tree, which was deemed imperishable and incapable of injury by lightning.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

6. *Obv.*—Head of Byron to left, bare; below, L. M. (Luigi Manfredini.)

Rev.—Funeral urn, ornamented with laurel-wreath and inscribed ΒΥΡΩΝ. *Leg.* ΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΟΟΘΟΥ. (A memorial of affection.)

·6. MB. AR. AE.

This and the following pieces are small memorials, and form part of a series executed by the artist Manfredini, a native of Milan, in Italy.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

7. *Ov.*—Head of Byron to left, &c., as the preceding.

Rev.—Prometheus naked, seated on rock and holding rock; above, hand with torch. *Leg.* ΕΓΕ-
ΝΕΘΗΤΩ ΦΩΣ. (Let there be light.)

- 6. MB. AR.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

8. *Ov.*—Head of Byron to left, &c., as No. 6.

Rev.—Female figure, turreted, seated to left on globe and holding scroll and cornucopie. *Leg.* DIS
ALITER VISVM. Below, IT.

- 6. MB. AR.

MEMORIAL, 1824.

9. *Ov.*—Bust of Byron to left, wearing coat and shirt with deep collar. *Leg.* LORD NOEL BYRON.
PECI. L. M. (Luigi Manfredini.)

Rev.—Inscription across and around field, BYRON THE PRIDE OF ENGLAND DECEASED AT MISSOLONGHI 17 APRIL 1824.

- 45. MB. AR.

This piece consists of a medalet in silver surrounded by a steel border with loop for suspension.

CHARLES CALVERT, DIED 1832.

MEMORIAL, 1832.

- Ov.*—Bust of Calvert to left, wearing frock-coat. On truncation, W. WYON A. R. A. MINT.

Rev.—Inscription. A TRIBUTE FROM THE ELECTORS OF SOUTHWARK TO THE MEMORY OF CHARLES CALVERT ESQ^R THEIR FAITHFUL REPRESENTATIVE IN FIVE SUCCESSIVE PARLIAMENTS FIRST ELECTED 1812 DIED SEPT^R 1832.

1·7. MB. AE.

Charles Calvert, who sat during six parliaments for the borough of Southwark, first appeared as a candidate for that place in the general election of 1807, was first returned in 1812, and subsequently in 1818, 1820, and 1826. He was defeated at the general election in 1830, but his opponent dying before the meeting of parliament, Calvert was restored to his seat and again re-chosen in 1831. He died Sept. 8th, 1832.

DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, 1774—1850.

THE ENGLISH RE-ENTER HANOVER, 1814.

Obr.—Bust of the Duke of Cambridge, three-quarters to left, in military dress, Star of the Garter on his breast; on truncation, WEBB. F. Leg. H.R.H. DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

Rev.—Female figure seated to right with lion at her feet and feeding two horses with corn. Leg. THE ENGLISH RE-ENTER HANOVER. In the exergue, M.DCCCXIV. MUDIE D. BARRE F.

1·55. MB. ST. Mudie's Medals, No. xxxi.

This is one of Mudie's series of national medals. Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, son of George III. and Queen Charlotte, born 24 Feb., 1774, was in 1793 appointed colonel in the Hanoverian army. He served in the campaign of 1794—5, and in 1803 was appointed

Colonel-in-Chief of the King's German legions, a force in British pay, and destined to relieve Hanover when menaced by the French armies. The Duke of Cambridge, however, soon transferred his command to Count Walmoden, and coming to England was charged with the superintendence of a home district. In 1814, when the French were expelled from Hanover, the Duke again took command of the electorate, which under the Treaty of Vienna was elevated to the rank of a kingdom, the Duke being appointed Governor-General in 1816. He continued to discharge these important duties till the year 1837 when the death of William IV. placed Hanover under the rule of the next male heir, the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke afterwards took up his residence at Cambridge House, Piccadilly, where he died 8 July, 1850. He was very popular in this country, and for many years was regarded as emphatically the connecting link between the throne and the people.

EARL OF CAMDEN, 1714—1794.

APPOINTED LORD CHANCELLOR, 1766.

1. *Obr.*—Bust of Camden to right in Chancellor's robes.
Leg. CHARLES LORD CAMDEN CHAN-
CELLOR OF BRITAIN. T. PINGO. F.

Rev.—Liberty and Justice standing facing and holding their emblems. *Leg.* LIBERTY EQUITY. In the exergue, MDCCCLXVI.

1·55. MB. AR. Æ. Pl. XI. 7.

Charles Pratt, First Earl of Camden, son of Sir John Pratt, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was born in 1714. Educated at Eton and Cambridge he studied for

the bar, and was called in 1738. In 1757 he was appointed Attorney-General, and four years afterwards accepted a seat on the Bench in the Court of Common Pleas. His popularity was very great at the time of the trial of Wilkes, as he declared that general warrants were altogether illegal. In 1765 he was created Baron Camden of Camden Place, Kent, and in the following year was made Lord Chancellor, which office he resigned after a period of four years, being opposed to the principles of the government relating to their American policy. His judicial career ended with his resignation of the Chancellorship, but for more than twenty years he took an active part in polities, strenuously combating the ill-advised American policy of Lord North. He filled the office of President of the Council during the Rockingham administration in 1782, and also from the following year until his death under Pitt. He died on the 13th of April, 1794. This and the following two medals refer to Camden's great reputation for uprightness and impartiality as a judge.

APPOINTED LORD CHANCELLOR, 1766.

2. *Obr.*—Bust of Camden to right, in Chancellor's robes.
Leg. C. PRATT LORD CAMDEN. I. KIRK. F.

Rev.—Justice seated to left on pile of books, one inscribed MAGNA CHARTA, head facing, holding scales and staff surmounted by Cap of Liberty. *Leg.* TRUE TO HIS TRUST. I. KIRK. F. In the exergue, MDCCCLXVI.

1·35. MB. AE.

APPOINTED LORD CHANCELLOR, 1766.

3. *Obr.*—Bust of Camden to left, in close-fitting coat with straps; hair long. *Leg.* CAMDEN THE GREAT.

Rev.—Inscription, LONG LIVE LORD CAMDEN
BRITAIN'S GLORY.

·95. MB. \ae .

MEMORIAL, 1773.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of Camden to right, in Chancellor's robes : on either side, KIRK FEC.

Rev.—Inscription, LORD CAMDEN 1773.

This small medal is one of a series of thirteen, which were given away with as many numbers of a magazine called *The Sentimental* published in the years 1773—1775. Some were struck in silver and given as prizes.

MEMORIAL, 1794.

5. *Obv.*—Bust of Camden to right, mantle over shoulders, head bare.

Rev.—Plain.

1·9. MB. Lead.

This is an impression from an unfinished die. It is unsigned, but it may be a work of the elder Mossop.

MARQUIS OF CAMDEN, 1759—1840.

OPENING OF THE SENATE HOUSE AT CAMBRIDGE, 1835.

Obv.—Bust of Camden to left, wearing robes, collar, and star of the Garter. *Leg.* JOAN : JEFFREYS MARCH : CAMDEN : NOBILISS : ACAD : CANTAB : CANCELL : 1835.

Rev.—View of the interior of the Senate House at Cambridge ; above, angel with wreath ; below, DEUM TIMETO : REGEM HONORATO : VIRTUTEM COLITO : DISCIPLINIS BONIS OPERAM DATO.

1·7. MB. \ae .

John Jeffreys, First Marquis of Camden, the eldest son of Charles, First Earl of Camden (see preceding medal), born 11th February, 1759, was educated at Cambridge, and on his coming of age was returned to Parliament as one of the members for Bath. This was the beginning of a long and successful political career in the course of which he filled various high offices—a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty in 1783, one of the Lords of the Treasury in 1789, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1795—1798, Secretary for the Colonies in 1804, President of the Council 1806—1812, and a Teller of the Exchequer for over sixty years. He succeeded his father in the peerage in April, 1794, and in September, 1812, he was created Marquis of Camden. On the 14th August, 1799, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and Chancellor for the University of Cambridge in 1834, and in the following year the new Senate House was opened, an event which occasioned the striking of the above medal. He died on the 8th October, 1840.

GEORGE CANNING, 1770—1827.

FREE TRADE WITH INDIA ADVOCATED, 1812.

1. *Ov.*—Inscription, THE RIGHT HON. GEO^E CANNING. Above and below, rose and oak branches.

Rv.—Inscription, A FREE TRADE TO INDIA THE ZEALOUS OPPOSER OF ORIENTAL MONOPOLY. Above and below, oak and laurel branches.

1·8. MB. ST.

George Canning, the distinguished statesman and orator, born in London 11th April, 1770, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn. At Burke's suggestion Canning relinquished the bar, and devoting

himself to politics, was returned as member for Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in 1793, under the banner of Pitt. In 1796, he was appointed an Under-Secretary of State, and was returned for the Treasury borough of Wendover. It was, however, not before 1798 that he came prominently into public notice as an orator and statesman, giving valuable assistance to the ministry in the debates on the abolition of Slave Trade, the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, the Union with Ireland, and other important questions. In 1801, when Pitt resigned office, Canning joined the Opposition, and upon Pitt again becoming premier in 1804, he was rewarded with the office of Treasurership of the Navy. In 1807 he was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, under the Portland Ministry, and in 1812 he strongly supported Catholic Emancipation. In the same year he was elected member for Liverpool, for which place he was returned three successive times, and it was at this period that he advocated free trade with India as commemorated by the above medal. He went to Lisbon as Ambassador in 1814, and returning in 1816, he was made President of the Board of Control, and supported the Liverpool Ministry in all their repressive measures known as the Six Acts, which were considered by some as unnecessarily severe. Nominated Governor-General of India in 1822, he was on the eve of departure from England when the suicide of the Marquis of Londonderry put him at the head of Foreign Affairs, and during his term of office he rendered great and valuable service to the country by the remarkable tact and diplomacy displayed in his foreign policy. In February, 1827, an attack of paralysis having compelled the Earl of Liverpool to resign, Canning was called upon to form a new administration. His health, however, gave way under the cares

of office, and he died on the 8th August of the same year. The above and the following medal refer to the attempt made in 1812 to prevent the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, which expired on the 24th May of that year, on the ground that the exclusive privileges granted to that Company were detrimental to the commercial welfare and general interests of the country at large. In spite of Canning's opposition the Charter of the Company was renewed.

FREE TRADE WITH INDIA ADVOCATED, 1812.

2. *Obr.*—Within laurel-wreath, CANNING FOR EVER.

Rev.—Inscription in field, FREE TRADE TO INDIA.
Around, THE ZEALOUS OPPOSER OF
ORIENTAL MONOPOLY.

1·6. MB. ST.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF INDIA ABANDONED, 1822.

3. *Obr.*—Head of Canning to left; on neck, BAIN. F.

Rev.—Inscription, INDIAE IMPERIO DESTINATUM,
VOTA BRITANNORUM RETINENT. SEPT.
MDCCCXXII.

1·95. MB. AR. Lead (obv. proof). Pl. XI. 8.

In 1822, Canning accepted the Governor-Generalship of India, but just before his departure Lord Castlereagh, then Marquis of Londonderry, committed suicide, and both Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington urged upon George IV. the necessity of giving the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs to Canning. In 1820 Canning having declined to take any part in the proceedings against

Queen Caroline, had resigned the Presidency of the Board of Control, and the King on that account refused to receive him in 1821, when Lord Liverpool wished to bring him back into office. The King gave way on the present occasion and Canning abandoned the Indian appointment for that in the Ministry. At the same time he exchanged his seat at Liverpool for Harwich.

THE STOTHARD MEDAL, 1826.

4. *Obv.*—Head of Canning to left: on neck, A. J. STOTHARD.
F.; below, F. L. CHANTREY R.A.D. *Leg.* CANNING.

Rev.—The Muse, Cleio, seated on low column, holding stylus in right hand, and in left scroll inscribed, TO GREAT MEN; below, on pedestal, PUB^Y. BY PARKER, LONDON. Around, T. STOTHARD R A D MDCCXXVI. A J STOTHARD F.

2·45. MB. AE.

This is one of a series of medals of illustrious men issued in 1826 by A. J. Stothard.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, 1827.

5. *Obv.*—Bust of Canning to left; drapery over shoulders.
Leg. RT. HON^{BLE}. GEORGE CANNING
BORN 1771.

Rev.—Inscription, THE CABINET MINISTERS.—PEERS—L^D. LYNDHURST E. OF HARROW—BY DUKE OF PORTLAND LORD BEXLEY VISCOUNT DUDLEY VISCOUNT GODERICH.—COMMONERS—RT. HON. W. STURGES BOURNE RT. HON. W. HUSKISSON RT. HON. C. W. WYNN VIS. PALMERSTON RT. HON. G. CANNING.—APRIL, 1827.

1·8. MB. AE.

This medal bears the names of the administration formed by Canning in 1827.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

6. *Obr.*—Bust of Canning to left; drapery over shoulders.
Leg. RT. HON^{M.P.} GEORGE CANNING
 BORN 1771.

Rev.—Inscription, DIED AT CHISWICK THE SEAT
 OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AUGUST
 THE 8TH. 1827.

1·8. MB. AE.

Overwhelmed with a combination of difficulties and suffering from bodily sickness, Canning, on Parliament being prorogued 2nd July, 1827, went for change of air on a visit to the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick. He rapidly got worse and died on the 8th August, in the same room in which, twenty-one years before, his early friend, Charles Fox, had expired.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

7. *Obr.*—Bust of Canning to right, wearing frock-coat, &c.; on truncation n. (T. Halliday). *Leg.* RT. HON.
 GEORGE CANNING M.P.

Rev.—Sepulchral monument, on which Britannia weeping rests her arm, and holds in right hand a scroll inscribed GREEKS CATHOLICKS. The monument is inscribed, CANNING DIED AUG. 8. 1827 AGED 56. On right is a cypress-tree.
Leg. THE FRIEND OF CIVIL & RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

1·5. MB. AE.

The inscription on the scroll on the reverse, and also the legend refer to two popular movements advocated by

Canning just before his death. One was the obtaining of practical independence for Greece by the Treaty of London, 27th July, 1827; the other his determined efforts to relieve Roman Catholics from the disabilities imposed upon them, and which resulted in the passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829. (See p. 257.)

MEMORIAL, 1827.

8. *Obr.*—Head of Canning to left; below, GALLE F. *Leg.*
GEORGE CANNING.

Rev.—Inscription in centre, LIBERTÉ CIVILE ET RE-LIGIEUSE DANS L'UNIVERS. 1827. Around, A LA CONCORDE DES PEUPLES.

2. MB. N. AE.

This medal by André Galle, the well-known French medallist, commemorates the same events as the previous medal. It was probably not made till after Canning's death.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

9. *Obr.*—Head of Canning to left. *Leg.* RT. HON^{BLE}.
GEORGE CANNING. PREMIER. T. W. IN-
GRAM. BIRMTH.

Rev.—Sepulchral monument, on which Angel places laurel garland, and near which kneel a woman and a child weeping, holding shield of Great Britain. *Leg.* FOR LIBERAL & ENLIGHTEN'D POLICY SURPASS'D BY NONE. In the exergue, DIED . AUG. 8. 1827 AGED . 57.

- 1·45. MB. AE.

Canning's political views were similar to those of the second Pitt, modified by considerations, the outcome of the

French revolution. He upheld strongly the maintenance of the royal prerogative, and at the same time advocated the repeal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, and the gradual removal of restrictions upon trade and commerce. Canning did not, however, share his master's views on the subject of parliamentary reform, and in consequence opposed it on several occasions, being convinced that the old system was capable of being administered in a thoroughly popular manner, and that any change, so soon after the effects caused by the French revolution, would be hazardous.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

10. *Obl.*—Bust of Canning to left, in frock-coat, &c. *Leg.*
GEORGE CANNING.

Rev.—Inscription, NÉ A LONDRES EN 1771. MORT
A CHISWICK EN 1827.

1·6. MB. Æ.

This is probably one of the series of medals of illustrious men issued by Jean Henri Simon, a Belgian medallist.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

11. *Obl.*—Bust of Canning to left, in frock-coat, &c. *Leg.*
R^T. HON. GEORGE CANNING. M.P.

Rev.—Funeral urn on base, inscribed, BORN 1771
DIED AUG 8 1827; over all hangs a willow-tree. *Leg.* THE FRIEND OF RATIONAL
FREEDOM *.

·95. MB. Æ.

This and the following three pieces were struck as cheap memorials of Canning for sale in the streets. They were all made by John Ingram, a die engraver of Birmingham.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

12. *Obv.*—Bust of Canning to left, &c., same as the preceding.

Rev.—Funeral urn on base, &c., similar to the preceding, but form of urn varied.

·95. MB. AE.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

13. *Obv.*—Head of Canning to left, bare. *Leg.* R^T. HON^{BLE}. GEO^E. CANNING . PREMIER. INGRAM. BIRM.

Rev.—Urn veiled on base inscribed CANNING. *Leg.* LIV'D BELOVED & DIED LAMENTED. In the exergue, DIED . AUG^T. 8 . 1827 AE^T. 57.

·95. MB. AE.

MEMORIAL, 1827.

14. *Obv.*—Bust of Canning to right in frock-coat. *Leg.* R^T. HON. GEORGE CANNING. M.P.

Rev.—Within oak-wreath, BORN 1770 DIED AUG. 8 . 1827. *Leg.* THE FRIEND OF CIVIL & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

·95. MB. AE.

JOHN CAPEL.

THE QUEENBOROUGH ELECTION, 1826.

Obv.—Head of Capel to left; below, s. CLINT. F. *Leg.* JOHN CAPEL ESQ. M.P. FOR QUEENBOROUGH ♦ JUNE 10^H. 1826. ♦

Rev.—Within laurel-wreath, *Samuel Steele* ONE OF THE 144 INDEPENDENT FREEMEN WHO VOTED FOR JOHN CAPEL ESQ^R.

1·75. MB. AR.

This medal was apparently struck by order of Capel for presentation to those who had supported him on the 10th June. The election caused but little public interest, the number of voters being under 200 ; Capel polled 144 votes.

WILLIAM CAREY, 1761—1834.

JUBILEE OF THE BAPTIST MISSION, 1842.

1. *Olv.*—Bust of Carey facing, wearing frock-coat with high collar, &c. *Leg.* WILLIAM CAREY. DAVIS BIRM.

Rev.—Inscription in centre, BAPTIST MISSION FORMED OCT^R. 2ND, 1792 COMMENCED IN E. INDIES 1793. W. INDIES 1813. W. AFRICA 1840. STATIONS 157. MISSIONARIES 71. TEACHERS & NATIVE PREACHERS 127. MEMBERS UPWARDS OF 30,000. SCHOLARS ABOUT 19,000. SCRIPTURES TRANSLATED INTO 40 LANGUAGES & DIALECTS. COPIES ISSUED IN THE YEAR 1841. 85,000. SLAVERY ABOLISHED AUG^T. 1ST. 1838. DAVIS. BIRM. Around, EXPECT GREAT THINGS FROM GOD. ATTEMPT GREAT THINGS FOR GOD.

1·7. MB. AE. Pl. XI. 9.

William Carey, the eminent Oriental scholar and Baptist Missionary, was born at Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire, in 1761. In early life he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and in 1786 was chosen preacher of the Baptist congregation at Moulton. In 1792, an association of ministers settled at Kettering formed themselves into a Baptist Missionary Society, and selected Carey as their first agent. India was the field chosen for his labours, and in 1793 he left England, arriving early in the following year in Bengal. Having a family to support he

could not devote all his time to his missionary duties, and so took charge of an indigo factory near Malda. In 1795, he issued the first Bible in the Bengaleo language, and some years later he removed to the Danish settlement in Serampore, where he set up a largo school, established a printing press, and published a number of religious and philological works in the native language. In 1801, Carey was appointed by the Marquis of Wellesley, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengalee, &c., at the newly-founded collego of Fort William, and for many years he was occupied with the duties of that office and in promoting the society of which he was a founder, and under the auspices of which he issued a largo number of grammars, dictionaries, philological and religious works in the various Indian languages. He also superintended numerous translations of the Bible. After being weakened by many attacks of fever, he was attacked with apoplexy in 1833, and died in the following year on the 9th June. This medal was struck in 1842, on the celebration of the Jubilee of the foundation of the Baptist Mission.

JUBILEE OF THE BAPTIST MISSION, 1842.

2. *Olv.*—Within five medallions arranged around open radiate Bible the busts of CAREY, FULLER, PEARCE, RYLAND, and SUTCLIFF. Around, the inscription, NOT BY MIGHT, NOT BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD. ZECH. c. 4, v. 6.

Rev.—View of the façade of the house at Kettering; below,
DAVIS BIEM. *Leg.* BAPTIST MISSION JUBILEE 1842. In the exergue, THE HOUSE AT KETTERING IN WHICH THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY WAS FORMED OCT. 2ND 1792.

1·5. MB. AE.

Those who chiefly supported Carey in his project of the Baptist Mission were Andrew Fuller, of Kettering ; Samuel Pearce, the zealous minister of the Cornish Street Chapel, Birmingham ; John Ryland, Jun., of Northampton ; and John Sutcliff, of Orney.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, 1771—1847.

BIRTHDAY MEMORIAL, 1842.

Obr.—Bust of Carlisle to right, wearing Doctor's robes.

Rev.—Inscription, NICHOLAS CARLISLE ÆTAT 71.

2. MB. AE. Lead. Pl. XI. 10.

Nicholas Carlisle, antiquary, born at York in 1771, entered the Naval Service of the East India Co., but left it early, as in 1806 he became a candidate for the office of Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, which he obtained early in the next year. In 1812, he became an Assistant Librarian of the Royal Library, and accompanied that collection to the British Museum, where he attended two days in the week. He was the author of several topographical dictionaries of England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland, of an historical account of Charitable Commissioners, of Foreign Orders of Knighthood, &c. He died at Margate, 27th August, 1847. The above medal was struck to commemorate his seventy-first birthday.

THOMAS CARLYLE, 1795—1881.

BIRTHDAY MEMORIAL, 1875.

1. *Obr.*—Bust of Carlyle to left, wearing frock-coat, &c. ; on truncation, BOEHM. *Leg.* THOMAS CARLYLE. G. MORGAN, sc.

Rev.—Inscription, IN COMMEMORATION . DECEMBER 4. 1875.

2. MB. AR.

Thomas Carlyle, the well-known essayist and historian, was born on the 4th December, 1795, at Ecclefechan, in Annandale, and died at Chelsea on the 4th February, 1881. His death being so recent, and the chief events of his life being so well known, it is not necessary in this instance to enter into any details. This medal was struck under the direction of the subscribers to the Carlyle Birthday Memorial Fund on his attaining his eightieth year.

MEMORIAL, 1875 ?

2. *Obv.*—Bust of Carlyle to left, in cloak and wide-brimmed hat. *Leg.* THOMAS CARLYLE.

No reverse.

4·4. MB. AE.

This medal is the work of Professor A. Legros. It is cast after the manner of Italian medals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN CARRICK.

BETHNAL GREEN VOLUNTEER INFANTRY DISEMBODIED, 1814.

Obv.—Britannia standing facing, on dragon, and looking up at olive-branch which she holds in her left hand; her right is placed on a low column, against which rests her shield. *Leg.* ENGLAND'S PERSEVERANCE DETHRONED BUONAPARTE. P. WYON. S:

Rev.—Inscription around and inside oak-wreath, LT. COL CARRICK. BETHNAL GREEN VOLUNTEER INFANTRY. ENROLLED 13TH AUG. 1808, AND DISEMBODEID AT THE GENERAL PEACE OF EUROPE, 24TH. JUNE, 1814.

1·95. MB. AR.

In consequence of the cessation of hostilities with France by the Treaty of Paris in 1814, all the Volunteer Corps which had been formed throughout the country for its defence, except the Bank Corps, were ordered to be disbanded. This general order took effect on the 24th June of the same year. Lieut.-Colonel Carrick, who had been appointed to the chief command of the Bethnal Green Volunteer Infantry upon its formation in 1803, retained the post during the entire existence of that corps; and upon its being disembodied in 1814, ordered the above medal to be struck and to be presented to each member of the regiment.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM PARKER CARROL.

Died 1842.

VICTORY AT PENAFLOR, 1809.

Obr. Head of Carrol to left. *Leg.* MAJ. GEN. SIR
W. P. CARROL, K^T. C.B. &c. T. I. WELLS . F.

Rev.—Mars walking to right, armed with sword and shield.
Leg. PENAFLOR 1809. In the exergue, T. I.
WELLS . F.

1·6. MB. Æ. Pl. XI. 11.

Sir William Parker Carrol entered the army as a volunteer in 1794, served in the expeditions against Holland and Buenos Ayres, and throughout the Peninsular War, being present at twenty-eight battles. He was appointed a Lieut.-Colonel in the British Army in 1811, and Lieut.-General in 1841 and a Major-General in the Spanish Army in 1814. He was created a Knight Bachelor in 1815, and Knight Commander of Hanover in 1832. He died in active service in 1842.

We have been unable to trace the particular event to which this medal refers. Penaflor is a small place not far from Saragoza, which was the principal scene of the war in 1808 and 1809. Carroll was probably in command of a Spanish contingent.

ROBERT OTWAY CAVE.

LEICESTER ELECTION, 1826.

Obr.—Inscription, ROBERT OTWAY CAVE, ESQ^R.
Above, laurel-branches; below, oak-branches and
I. OTTLEY MEDALLIST.

Rev.—Inscription, LEICESTER ELECTION 1826 THE
TRUE BLUE INTEREST FOR EVER. In
centre, two branches of laurel.

1·8. MB. ST.

This medal commemorates the severe contest at Leicester, which lasted ten days, at the general election of 1826. On the 23rd June, the last day of the contest, Sir Charles Hastings and Robert Otway Cave, the ministerial candidates, headed the poll.

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., 1780—1847.

FIRST ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND, 18 MAY, 1843.

Obr.—Bust of Chalmers facing, in academical robes. *Leg.*
THOMAS CHALMERS D.D. LL.D. MODE-
RATOR OF THE FIRST ASSEMBLY OF
THE FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF
SCOTLAND.

Rev.—The burning bush; above, on scroll, NEC TAMEN
CONSUMEBATUR. *Leg.* IN COMMEMORA-

TION OF THE FIRST ASSEMBLY OF THE
FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOT-
LAND ◇ HELD AT EDINBURGH 18 MAY
1843. J. TAYLOR MEDALLIST BIRM^M.

17. MB. R. Pl. XI. 12.

Thomas Chalmers, theologian and philanthropist, born at Anstruther, Fifeshire, 17th March, 1780, was educated at St. Andrews, turned his attention chiefly to mathematics, natural philosophy and theology, and at the early age of nineteen, being licensed as preacher, was ordained minister of the parish of Kilmeny, in Fife. Having to prepare an article on Christianity for Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, he commenced an extensive study of the evidences, in the course of which he became firmly convinced of the entire truth of the Bible. In 1815, he was translated to the Tron Church and parish in Glasgow, and finding his parishioners most ignorant of the first tenets of Christianity, he laboured hard to bring about a better state of things by establishing schools and classes, and dividing the parish into small districts. In 1823, he accepted the chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, and five years later was transferred to that of Theology at Edinburgh. About this time he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a corresponding member of the French Institute, and the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of D.C.L. Ten years later Chalmers took a leading part in what is commonly called "the non-intrusion controversy," or the right of the State to legislate in certain matters relating to the Church. The parties were divided into two sections called the "Moderates" and the "Evangelicals." Chalmers was of the latter, and when the courts of law decided in the "Auchterarder case" against the *Veto law*, a separation

took place, and those of the Evangelical party, to the number of 470 ministers, threw up their benefices and established the "Free Church." The great separation occurred on the 18th May, 1843, and Chalmers was elected first Moderator of the Free Protestant Church of Scotland. This step of Chalmers was prompted by the conviction, that under the fetters of the civil courts the Church could never grapple effectually with the great work of reclaiming and elevating the whole population of the country. In his new capacity Chalmers adopted in Edinburgh the scheme which he had so successfully carried out in Glasgow, and it became a great success before his death, which took place on the 30th May, 1847.

SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS, 1725—1796.

SOMERSET HOUSE REBUILT, 1781.

Obr.—Head of Chambers to right; on neck, B. WYON; below, AFTER WESTMACOTT. *Leg.* CHAMBERS 1725—1796.

Rev.—View of the façade of Somerset House. Below, B. WYON. SOMERSET HOUSE 1781. SIR. WILLIAM CHAMBERS R.A. ARCHITECT. On edge, ART-UNION OF LONDON, 1857.

2·15. MB. AE. Pl. XI. 13.

This is an Art-Union medal executed by Benjamin Wyon.

Sir William Chambers, the distinguished architect, was born at Stockholm of English parents in 1725, came to England to be educated, and being intended for a commercial life, went to the East Indies. Having developed at an early period a taste for architecture, he abandoned his commercial pursuits and went to Italy to study the

masterpieces of architecture in that country. Soon after his return to England he was selected as instructor in the study of architecture to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., and the royal pupil became so much attached to his instructor as to appoint him subsequently his chief architect. When the Royal Academy was established in London, Chambers was very instrumental in its formation and was appointed treasurer. His best work as an architect is Somerset House, which was finished in 1781, and the erection of which is commemorated by the above medal. Chambers died on the 8th March, 1796.

SIR FRANCIS CHANTREY, 1782—1841.

MEDAL BY BAIN, 1825.

1. *Obl.*—Head of Chantrey to left; on neck, BAIN. F.

Rev.—Inscription, F. CHANTREY. SCULPTOR.
MDCCCXXV.

1·95. MB. AE.

Sir Francis Chantrey, the eminent sculptor, born 7th April, 1782, at the village of Norton, in Derbyshire, of humble parents, was apprenticed to a carver and frame-maker, and evincing great taste for painting came under the notice of John Raphael Smith, a portrait painter, who gave him some valuable instruction. In 1802, he came to London, and being entered as a student at the Royal Academy, exhibited his first portrait in oil at the exhibition of 1804. In the following year he turned his attention to the more congenial pursuit of sculpture, in which he was most successful, receiving in a short time numerous orders. In 1817, Chantrey was elected an

A.R.A., and an R.A. in 1818, and in 1835 received the honour of knighthood, but declined a baronetcy. He was an honorary member of many foreign academies, a D.C.L. of Oxford, and M.A. of Cambridge, &c. He died at his residence in Pimlico, 25th November, 1841. This medal was presented by the artist Bain to the British Museum.

MEMORIAL, 1843.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Chantrey to right.

Rev.—Statue of Watt; he is seated in a chair, and holds compasses in right hand and scroll in left.

2·15. MB. ST. Pl. XI. 14.

This medal, probably also by Bain, is said to have been made in 1843. The statue of Watt is a copy of the one made by Chantrey and placed in Westminster Abbey.

EARL OF CHARLEMONT, 1728—1799.

THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY FOUNDED, 1786.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of the Earl of Charlemont to left, wearing coat with epaulettes, ribbon and star of the Order of St. Patrick; on truncation, MOSSOP. *Leg.* IACOBVS . COMES . DE CHARLEMONT . PRÆS.

Rev.—Hibernia seated to left on books, holding her shield with right hand and staff surmounted by cap in left; behind, various scientific implements, &c., and before her, in the distance, ruins; below, MOSSOP. *Leg.* VETERES REVOCAVIT ARTES. In the exergue, ACAD . REG . HIB . INST . JAN . 28 MDCCCLXXXVI.

2·05. MB. AE. Pl. XI. 15.

James Caulfield, 4th Viscount and 1st Earl of Charlemont, born at Dublin, 18th August, 1728, was privately educated and spent several years in Holland, Germany, Italy, Greece and Asia Minor, studying art and antiquities. In 1763, in consequence of important services in quelling an insurrection in Ulster, he was raised to the earldom of Charlemont. In 1764, he visited London and became acquainted with Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds and Hogarth, and was chosen chairman of the committee of the Dilettanti Society. In 1778, he took the command of the armed association named the Irish Volunteers, who embodied themselves during the American War for the defence of the country, and who in 1779 numbered 42,000. To Lord Charlemont's love of letters, Ireland owes the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy, which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1786, and of which he acted as President till his death on the 4th August, 1799. Lord Charlemont was a Knight of St. Patrick.

MEMORIAL, 1820 ?

2. *Obv.*—Head of the Earl of Charlemont to left.

Rev.—Plain.

1·6. MB. ST.

This is a model for a medal executed by the medallist William Mossop, Jun., about seven years before his death, which occurred in 1827. Mossop commenced a series of medals of distinguished Irish characters, of which he only produced six pieces, the above being one of them.

H. A. GRUEBER.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Band XVI. Parts I.—II., contain the following articles :—

1. A. v. Sallet. Acquisitions of the Berlin coin cabinet, April, 1887, to April, 1888.

The Royal Collection has been increased during the year by 99 Greek, 8 Roman, 5 Oriental, and 658 Mediæval and Modern coins.

Among the Greek may be mentioned a unique tetradrachm of Samothrace, *Obr.* Head of Pallas, *Rev.* ΣΑΜΟ, seated Kybele, magistrate's name ΜΗΤΡΩΝΑ [*κρος*] *circ.* B.C. 300; a didrachm of Damastium of the usual types, but of remarkably fine style; an electrum coin of Ininthimeus, King of Bosporus, A.D. 235—239; a rare silver stater of Heraclea in Bithynia, *circ.* B.C. 302—281, similar to Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 442; a hitherto unknown silver stater of Stratonicea in Caria, *Obr.* Head of Zeus, *Rev.* ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ, Hekate or Artemis standing, wearing modius, surmounted by crescent and holding patera and torch, magistrate's name ΜΕΛΑΝΘΙΟΣ, second cent. B.C.; an inscribed silver stater of Camirus in Rhodes; a bronze coin of Mostene in Lydia, of imperial times, *Obr.* ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ, *Rev.* ΜΟΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΛΥΔΩΝ, tripod; a small bronze coin of late style attributed to Etenna in Pamphylia, under the name Ketenna, *Obr.* Head of Artemis, *Rev.* ΚΕΤ, club, found in Pamphylia; a small bronze coin, perhaps of Iconium, *Obr.* Head of Zeus, *Rev.* Lion, Inser. KO, suggesting the possible occurrence of the form Κόνιον in addition to the ordinary form Ικόνιον; a very rare coin of Dioclea in Phrygia, *Obr.* Bust of Elagabalus, *Rev.* ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΝΩΝ ΜΟΖΕΑΝΩΝ, Demeter standing (cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 562).

The Berlin Museum has also been fortunate enough to acquire an important selection of Indo-Bactrian silver staters, evidently from the same find as those recently purchased by the British Museum, which have been already described in these pages by Professor Gardner (*Num. Chron.*, 1881, p. 181 *sqq.*). The most important among the specimens which have found their way to Berlin is a stater bearing the two names of Archebius and Philoxenus, the former in Greek, the latter in the Arian Pali character, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ, and

Maharajasa apadihatasa Philasinasa (= ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ). This joint issue by Archebius and Philoxenus proves that these two kings reigned at the same time and in the same district. The inference is that they were brothers.

A stater of King Diomedes, of whom only small coins were known before the present find, is also worthy of mention. Dr. Von Sallet concludes his report with a description of some interesting Renaissance medals, of which he also gives two autotype plates.

2. F. Kupido. On a Find of Mediæval Coins at Rakwitz, in Southern Moravia, comprising coins of the Dukes of Olmütz, Brünn, Znaim, and Jamnitz, between A.D. 1055 and 1180.

3. Rhousopoulos. A Thessalian bronze coin of the fourth cent. B.C., bearing the inscription ΠΕΤΘΑΛΩΝ retrograde. *Otv.* Head of Zens, *Her.* Forepart of horse springing from rock.

The name of this people has been recently discovered in a Thessalian inscription (*Mittheilungen des deutschen arch. Inst. in Athen.* Bd. VII. 64, 67; cf. Bd. VIII. 103, 120), where it occurs in the forms Πετθαλοῦν and Πετθάλειον, the former being the Thessalian gen. plnr., and the latter the adjective. Professor Rhousopoulos doubts whether there was ever a town of Petthalia, and thinks it more probable that the Petthali, like many other tribes in Northern Greece, had no town called after them, and that they were known only by their ethnic.

4. E. Bahrfeldt. Supplement to Dr. Menadier's paper on Finds of German Mediæval Coins (*Zeit. f. Num.* XV. p. 97 *sqq.*).

5. H. Dannenberg. On the Numismatics of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, with an autotype plate.

6. E. Bahrfeldt. Contributions to the mediæval numismatics of Silesia.

7. R. Bergau. On sixteenth cent. medals, by Wenzel Jamnitzer, a famous goldsmith of Nuremberg.

B. V. HEAD.

Revue Numismatique, 1888, Part II.

1. E. Drouin. Chronology and Numismatics of the Indo-Scythians (conclusion).

M. Drouin's articles on the "Chronologie et Numismatique des Rois Indo-Scythes" in the last two numbers of the *Revue Numismatique* form an excellent *résumé*, such as was much needed, of all that we can be said to know of the history of a deeply interesting period. After briefly sketching the progress of Indo-Scythic numismatics since the first notice of the coins

by Major Tod in the year 1827, M. Drouin proceeds to summarize the historical results which have been obtained from a study of all the available sources of information—the works of Greek topographers, Chinese and Arab historians, inscriptions, and coins. The greater portion of M. Drouin's work is, however, naturally devoted to a consideration of the actual coins of the six known kings, who are included under the term Indo-Scythie, beginning with Kadphises I., who conquered Hermaeus, the last Greek king of Bactria, about the year 25 B.C., and ending with Vasudeva or Bazodeo, who, as is known from inscriptions, was reigning in the year 176 A.D. These kings fall naturally into two well-defined groups, Kadphises I., Kadaphes, and Kadphises II., constituting the first, and Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasudeva, known collectively under the name Turushkas, the second. To these latter M. Drouin devotes the whole of his second article, and rightly, since they suggest many problems of the highest interest, and have been quite recently the subject of much controversy. It is manifestly impossible for a writer to deal with this period without taking into full consideration the ingenious theory of Dr. Aurel Stein, who sees in the modified form of the Greek Ρ (ρ), which first occurs on the coins of Kanishka, a representation of the Persian sound *sh*—a theory which leads him to identify most of the names occurring on these coins as being those of Zoroastrian deities. After a full and impartial discussion of Dr. Stein's theory, M. Drouin decides absolutely in its favour, accepting also most, but not all, of Dr. Stein's identifications.

In Professor Gardner's catalogue will be found noted (Hooerkes 15, 52, 58, 110, 111), a curious and interesting variant of the name ΟΟΗΡΚΙ, viz. ΟΥΟΗ ΡΚΙ, which brings us a step nearer to the proper Sanskrit form Huvishka. This variant M. Drouin refuses to acknowledge on the ground that what has been read as Υ is in reality nothing more than a portion of the king's head-dress—"Une sorte d'ornement faisant partie du diadème." This ornament and the letter Υ are, however, quite distinct, both occurring on some of the British Museum coins, e.g. Hooerkes 58, where the ornament is as usual in the front of the helmet and the letter quite away from the helmet, and at the back of the head. It was unfortunate that none of these specimens were represented in Professor Gardner's Plates.

M. Drouin mentions with approbation the conjecture of Professor Cecil Bendall, who reads on certain copper coins of Kanishka ΟΔΥΟΒΟΥ ΣΑΚΑΜΑ, and regards this as equivalent to the Sanskrit "Advaya Buddha Sākyamuni."

To obtain this reading it is, however, necessary to read the coin in two directions—ΟΔΥΟΒΟΥ from the top to the right and ΣΑΚΑΜΑ from the top to the left; and as will be seen from Professor Gardner's Plate XXVII. 2, this necessitates reading the Β of ΟΔΥΟΒΟΥ backwards. The position of the letters thus shows that the reading of the inscription should be from left to right continuously, and, if correct, ΣΑΚΑΜΑ ΥΟΒΟΥΔΟ. In this form we may certainly recognise the name Buddha written at length in the last five letters, and perhaps Śākyamuni, or some equivalent title, in the rest; but the reading is as yet altogether too uncertain to form a firm basis for further speculation.

E. J. RAPSON.

2. Th. Reinach. Essay on the Numismatics of the kings of Pontus (Dynasty of Mithradates), first article.

The writer gives a clear account of the origin of the Pontic kingdom under Mithradates (*Κτιστης*), son of Mithradates, a dynast of Ciss, who was put to death by Antigonus B.C. 302. The reign of this first king of Pontus extended from B.C. 281—266. The only coin which can be attributed to him is a unique gold stater of Alexander the Great's types, reading ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (Waddington Coll.). He was succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes, B.C. 266—250, of whom no coins are known. Mithradates II., son and successor of Ariobarzanes, reigned from B.C. 250—190, and has left us the realistic tetradrachms engraved in Head, *Hist. Num.* Fig. 263: The next king, Pharnaces I., B.C. 190—169, is represented by the tetradrachm (*Hist. Num.* Fig. 264), having on the reverse a standing Pantheistic divinity, probably Μήν Φαρνάκου. This king was succeeded by his brother Mithradates Philopator Philadelphus, surnamed Euergetes, B.C. 169—121, whose tetradrachms bear on the reverse a standing figure of Perseus, the reputed ancestor of the Persian kings. On the death of Euergetes his widow Laodice reigned supreme for seven years B.C. 121—114. Of this queen M. Waddington is the fortunate possessor of a unique tetradrachm, *Obr.* Bust of Queen veiled, *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ, standing figure of Pallas resting on her spear. Laodice was succeeded by her son, Mithradates the Great (Eupator), whose reign nominally dates from the death of his father in B.C. 121, but in reality only from that of his mother in B.C. 114.

The coins of Mithradates the Great will form the subject of M. Reinach's second article.

8. G. Schlumberger. On Coins of Amr Ghazi, A.D. 1106,

Danishmend Emir of Cappadocia, bearing on the obverse the head of Christ, and on the reverse the Greek legend Ο ΜΕΓΑ(s) ΑΜΗΡΑ(s) ΑΜΡ ΓΑΖ(ι).

4. N. Rondot. Claude Warin, engraver and medallist. This paper is accompanied by five beautifully executed Plates by Dujardin of medallions by or attributed to Claude Warin. Among the specimens selected for illustration are medals of Thomas Cary and his wife Margaret, 1633, of William and Anna Blake, 1634, of Sir William Ducy, 1636, of Richard Weston, Duke of Portland, and of Sir Thomas Bodley. The writer points out that Claude Warin worked in London from 1633 to 1642, and that these English medals, although signed simply Warin and not C. Warin, are nevertheless probably by his hand and not by that of Jean Warin, the chief engraver of the Paris Mint, 1646—1672. In this opinion M. Rondot differs from Mr. Franks and Mr. Grueber, the editors of Hawkins's *Medallic Illustrations of British History*.

5. J. J. Guittrey. The Medal Mint. Metallic history of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.

B. V. HEAD.

In the *Bulletin de Numismatique*, M. E. Caron contributes a notice of some coins in the cabinet of M. le Comte de Chasteigner of Bordeaux. Among these the most interesting to English collectors is a hoard consisting of 618 coins of the Black Prince struck at Agen, Bordeaux, Figeac or Fontenay, Limoges or Lectoure, Poitiers, La Rochelle or La Réole, Tarbes, and probably Dax. The last-mentioned mint is new, and is indicated by a monogram which appears to consist of the letters A and Q, standing for Aquis.

B. V. HEAD.

Reptoire des Sources imprimées de la Numismatique française, Tome I., by A. Engel and R. Serrure. Paris, 1887. This compendium of all that has been written on French numismatics reflects great credit upon the diligent compilers. The title in fact hardly gives us a sufficiently comprehensive idea of the wide range of material which is included in the work. Part I. contains a complete list of all numismatic periodicals classed under the various countries in which they are published. Part II. comprises under the authors' names, in alphabetical order, all works, papers, dissertations, and even casual notes, which contain references to the numismatics of France in any period, and many others which can hardly be said to have much to do with

France at all, such, for instance, as Head's *Historia Numorum*, Imhoof Blumer's *Porträtköpfe*, Dannenberg's numerous articles on mediæval German coins, Cohen's *Monnaies de la République romaine*, and Babelon's more recent work on the same subject.

The present volume takes us down to the end of the letter J, and has reached the prodigious number of 8,219 works, great and small. We cannot help thinking that the compilers would have done better either to have confined themselves more strictly to the subject indicated by their title, or to have extended the scope of their work so as to embrace the whole field of the numismatics of Europe, beginning with the Gaulish and British.

This *Reperoire* will be found very useful to the ever-widening circle of French numismatists.

B. V. HEAD.

MISCELLANEA.

THE NEW COINAGE, 1887.

(From the *London Gazette*.)

By THE QUEEN.—A PROCLAMATION.

VICTORIA R.

Whereas by an Act passed in the thirty-third year of Our reign, intituled "An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the Coinage and Her Majesty's Mint," it is among other things enacted,

That We, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, shall from time to time by Proclamation determine the design for any coin.

We have, therefore, thought fit to order that certain of the coins made at the Mint, mentioned in the first schedule to the aforesaid Act of the weight and fineness specified in that schedule, shall bear designs as follows:—

That every Five Pound Piece should have for the obverse impression our effigy, with the inscription "Victoria D. G. Britt: Reg: F. D.", and for the reverse the image of Saint George, armed, sitting on horseback, attacking the Dragon with a sword, and a broken spear upon the ground, and the date of the year, with a graining upon the edge; and that every Two Pound Piece should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the Five Pound Piece, with a graining upon the edge; and that every

Sovereign should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the Five Pound Piece, with a graining upon the edge; and that every Half Sovereign should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy, with the inscription "Victoria Dei Gratia," and for the reverse the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom contained in a garnished shield surmounted by the Royal Crown, with the inscription "Britanniarum Regina Fid : Def :" and the date of the year, with a graining upon the edge; and that every crown should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the five pound piece, with a graining upon the edge; and that every half-crown should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy, with the inscription "Victoria Dei Gratia," and for the reverse the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom contained in a plain shield surrounded by the Garter, bearing the motto "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and the Collar of the Garter, with the inscription "Britanniarum Regina Fid : Def :" and the date of the year, with a graining upon the edge; and that every florin should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy, with the inscription "Victoria Dei Gratia," and for the reverse the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom contained in four shields arranged cross-wise, each shield crowned, and between the shields four sceptres surmounted by orbs, a thistle, and a harp, and a Star of the Garter in the centre, with the inscription "Britt : Reg : Fid : Def :" and the date of the year, with a graining upon the edge; and that every shilling should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy with the inscription "Victoria Dei Gratia Britt : Regina F. D.," and for the reverse the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom, contained in a plain shield surrounded by the garter bearing the motto "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and the date of the year with a graining upon the edge; and that every sixpence should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the shilling, with a graining upon the edge; and that certain other pieces of silver money called "The Queen's Maundy Monies," of fourpence, threepence, twopence, and one penny, should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy, with the inscription "Victoria Dei Gratia Britt : Regina F. D.," and for the reverse the respective figures "4," "3," "2," "1" (according to the denomination or value of the piece) in the centre, with the date of the year placed across the figure, and encircled by an oak wreath, surmounted by the Royal Crown, with a plain edge:

And whereas by the aforesaid Act it is also enacted that it

shall be lawful for Us, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, from time to time, by Proclamation, to determine the denominations of coins to be coined at the Mint, and it is by the said Act provided that any coin of gold, silver, or bronze, of any other denomination than that of the coins mentioned in the first schedule to the aforesaid Act, which is hereafter coined at the Mint shall be of a weight and fineness bearing the same proportion to the weight and fineness specified in that schedule as the denomination of such coin bears to the denominations mentioned in that schedule:

We have therefore further thought fit to order that a new coin, to be called a double-florin, should be coined, of the standard weight of 349.09090 grains, and of the fineness of thirty-seven-fortieths fine silver and three-fortieths alloy, and should pass and be received as current and lawful money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at the rate of four shillings, or one-fifth of a pound; and that every such coin should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the florin, with a graining upon the edge.

And whereas, pieces of money of the above descriptions respectively have been coined at Our Mint, and will be coined there, in pursuance of which orders We have given for that purpose, We have, therefore, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, thought fit to issue this Our Royal Proclamation; and We do hereby ordain, declare, and command that the said pieces of monoy respectively so coined and to be coined as aforesaid shall be curront and lawful money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that this, Our Royal Proclamation, shall come into operation on the date hereof.

Given at our Court at Windsor, this thirteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, and in the fiftieth year of Our reign.

GOD save the QUEEN.

XI.

THE EASTERN CAPITAL OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.

I WOULD ask for a little room in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for a short communication, in which I venture upon some new conclusions based upon the famous find of coins made a few years ago beyond the Oxus, and about which you have had more than one paper from Professor Gardner marked, as usual, by learning and sobriety. I cannot agree, however, with all of his conclusions. The hoard, so far as we have evidence, comprised coins of the early Seleucidan kings, of the Parthian satrap Andragoras, of a king whose name Professor Gardner reads Phahaspes, and also tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, imitations of the coins of Athens, and lastly coins of Lysimachus, Tarsus, Sinope, Aspendus, and Ephesus. In regard to these last coins, Professor Gardner suggests that they were possibly purchased *en route* by the traders who brought down the Oxus coins. I cannot think it possible that coins of these various cities are to be met with in the bazaars of Afghanistan, and it seems to me much more probable that all the coins named, as the report alleges, were found together, and formed the motley gathering of some adventurous soldier, or were the result of some raid into the West, and are thus a parallel to the varied hoard of gold ornaments from the same district, many of which have come into the hands of Mr. Franks.

The question is only of importance as affecting the conclusion which I would draw from it, namely, that the coins were not struck in the neighbourhood, and that they did not even belong to it, but were imported, just as the coins of Ethelred and of the Samani princes were imported into Sweden. Sogdiana at this time, in my view, was largely occupied by Scythic races incapable of such artistic work as the gold coins of the early Seleucidæ from this find. Nor do I believe they were brought from Bactria. A number of them are Western coins, and were brought from the West; and of those struck in the East it is very improbable any were struck in Bactria. There is no evidence that the first successors of Alexander struck coins in Bactria at all. If they had had a mint there turning out such beautiful coins as these specimens, we should assuredly have had numbers of them found with the well-known Bactrian coins of Diodotus and his successors, but, so far as I know, the only coins of this class which have come from India are traceable to this find. Let us now examine these coins a little more closely. There can be no doubt that some of them were struck in the East. The type of the horned Bucephalus, as Mr. Gardner says, is unknown among the coins of the Seleucidæ in the West, nor are the monograms found on these coins like those found on the coins from the western part of their dominion. The question is, where were they struck?

One remarkable fact about the monograms upon them is, that they are nearly all alike, or represent the same meaning. As Prof. Gardner says, "It is very noteworthy that the mint-marks of almost all the coins which can be traced to the Oxus find have a Δ in them. They are Δ , Δ (A) Δ !, and so forth." Prof. Gardner goes on to conjecture that the letters indicate the mint of Dionys-

polis or Nysa, "a city of Paropamisus, identified by General Cunningham with the modern Begram, near Cabul."

In this conjecture I cannot at all agree. The very fact of the coins all being struck at one place, and being of excellent fabric, goes to prove that they were issued at the capital city of the eastern dominions of the Seleucidæ. It is most unlikely that this capital was situated south of the Hindu Kush, which would have been a most inconvenient position for it. Besides, it is probable that this area was made over to Chandra Gupta in the famous treaty he made with Seleucus, and was therefore not subject to the early Seleucidans at all. Secondly, if the chief mint-town of the early Seleucidæ had been in the district south of the Hindu Kush some of their coins would no doubt have occurred there in large numbers, whereas they do not occur at all in that district, where the fresh coins of the so-called Bactrian series are so abundant. Lastly, and most important of all, the monograms just referred to are quite unknown among the so-called Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins, showing the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian kings had no such mint within their dominions. All these facts concur in making it most improbable, if not impossible, that these coins were struck, or were generally current, either in Bactria, or Aria, or the country immediately west of the Indus, and make it very probable that, like the other coins found with them, they were brought to their hiding-place from farther west.

Whence, then, did they come? I am only going to offer a tentative solution, since at present no other solution is possible.

We have hardly any notices of what took place in the eastern portion of Alexander's conquest from his death

to the battle of Ipsus in 302, which finally placed Seleucus on the throne, and, as I shall endeavour to show in another communication, it is probable that there was a good deal of confusion there unnoticed by his historians, and that Seleucus's eastern journey involved a reconquest, and not merely an assertion of his right as successor to Alexander.

When by his victory over Antigonus the position of Seleucus was definitely secured, and he became the master of Asia from the Mediterranean to the Pamir Steppes, he appointed his son Antiochus governor of the eastern portion of his dominions, and it is from this date that their definite organization began. Antiochus, like other members of his dynasty, was a founder of towns, and this in the east as well as the west. We are told by Pliny that he refounded a city of Alexandria in Margiana, which had been first planted by Alexander the Great, and been afterwards destroyed by the barbarians, and which he renamed Antiocheia. (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. 18.) This fact is also mentioned by Ptolemy. Strabo (Book xi. ch. x.) says that Antiochus admired the fertility of the place, and he enclosed a circuit of 1,500 stadia with a wall. Stephen of Byzantium tells us that Antiochus also founded a city in Aria, the modern province of Herat, which he called Soteira (*vide sub roce*). Pliny describes Artacabene as a very ancient and beautiful city, which was strengthened by Antiochus. This is the Artakoana of Arrian. General Cunningham identifies it with the Alexandreia of other writers, and urges that here, as in the case of the capital of Margiana, Antiochus renamed the city already founded by Alexander with his own name. It was probably Herat.

It would seem, therefore, that Antiochus refounded and re-named the capitals of Margiana and Aria, but neither

Margiana nor Aria was, in my view, the focus and centre of the Seleucidan Empire in the East at this time. If we take analogy as our guide—and it is very useful indeed in Eastern history, which is very conservative—we must conclude that Khorasan was in those days what it was in the time of the Seljuks and other great Eastern dynasties, the kernel of this part of the empire, its richest and most prosperous portion. It also occupied a central and strategical position, not only towards the rest of the empire, but also towards its most dangerous enemies, the Parthians and other nomads on the north; and I have very little doubt that it was in Khorasan that the seat of the Eastern government of the empire was situated. What, then, was the capital of Khorasan? Khorasan, in the earliest notice we have, namely, in the *Vendidad*, is called Nisaya. The famous sacred horses of Nyssa are referred to by Herodotus, and, according to Isidore of Charax, a very good authority, in the Parthian times its chief town was Parthaynisa, which, he says, the Greeks call Nisæa. This is also no doubt the “*regio Nisiæa Parthyenis nobilis*” of Pliny. Isidore tells us that the Parthian kings were buried there, which doubtless means that it was their first capital after they had attacked and secured their first province of Parthia, whose limits were very nearly those of Khorasan.

It is exceedingly probable that when the Parthians overthrew the Greeks they fixed upon the old Greek capital as their capital also, and thus there is a convergence of evidence going to make Nissa the chief town of the Seleucidæ in the East. Some have identified the town of Nissa with Nishapur, which tradition distinctly points to as having been founded by the Sassanian king, Sapor. It is possible, however, that this view may be a

mistaken one, and that the real Nissa still remains under its old name, overlooking the Karakum desert, and situated west of Merv-ur-rud, the site of the capital of the ancient and adjoining province of Margiana. This town of Nissa is a very famous place, and was more than once ravaged. Sultan Takish, the Seljukian, we are told, razed its citadel and ploughed over its site. The founder of the Ottoman royal stock originally migrated thence, and it was destroyed by the Mongols. According to a contemporary, who was a native of the place, Muhammed of Nissa, 70,000 of its inhabitants were then destroyed.

I believe that in all probability it was the capital of Parthiene or Khorasan in the days we are writing about, and that it was here that Antiochus fixed the seat of his government.

Now it is a curious fact that, almost without exception, wherever the Seleucidae either founded a new city or gave an old one some importance they changed its name and gave it a new Greek name. This is so general a rule that we may take it as exceedingly probable, in the absence of definite information on the subject, that they did so in the case of Nissa. Can we make a guess as to what this name was?

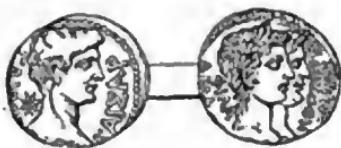
It is singular that generally when we meet with this name it is in connection with Dionysus. Thus Homer connects Nysa in Thrace with him (*Illiad.* vi. 132). Sophocles does the same, "A city Nysa, between the Indus and the Kaubul River, is said to have been built by Dionysus, who planted the ivy there" (see *Strabo*, book xv. c. 1; *Diodorus*, i. 2). Ptolemy, who refers to it, tells us the place was also called Dionysopolis, and Arrian has a long story about it in connection with Dionysus (*Vit. Alex.*, lib. v.). Herodotus says that Dionysus was no sooner born than he

was sewn up in Jupiter's thigh and carried off to Nysa, above Egypt in Ethiopia (ii. c. 146). Diodorus tells us Osiris, whom some of the Greeks called Dionysus, was brought up in Nysa, a town of Arabia Felix, near to Egypt, and there he learnt the use of the vine. He says further that he received his name from his father and the place (lib. 1, c. i.; lib. 3, c. iv.). He also describes how Lycurgus, King of Thrace, set upon him and his followers at a place called Nisius, in Thrace. Elsewhere he connects him with Nysa, an island of the river Triton, in Libya (*id.* 3, iv.).

This very curious fact, of the intimate connection of Nysa and Dionysus, makes it not improbable that the Nissa or Nysa of Parthia should have been called Dionysopolis by Antiochus, just as the Indian Nysa was so called by the Greeks. In both cases the name lends itself very easily to the change. Of course this is a mere conjecture, but it is one with a good deal of probability about it, and if it be well founded it at once accounts for the monograms Δ , $\Delta\!l$, &c., which occur on the coins of the Seleucidans which we have been discussing, and which, I would urge, were struck and issued in the Eastern capital of the dominions of Seleucus, which was Nissa or Dionysopolis, the capital of Parthiene or Parthia.

I have not exhausted what I have to say about this very interesting find of coins, but will reserve the rest for another communication.

H. H. HOWORTH.



XII.

GERMANICOPOLIS AND PHILADELPHIA IN CILICIA.

THE British Museum has recently acquired an interesting little bronze coin which, as I believe it to be unpublished, may be worth a short notice in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. It may be thus described :—

Ov.—ΓΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Head of Caligula, r.; behind neck, star.

Rev.—Two beardless heads jugate, of which the nearest (and perhaps the other also) is laureate; in front, [ΞΑ] ΝΘΟΣ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ [ΓΕ]ΡΜΑΝΙΚ; behind, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟ. Ω. Size .65.

It is evident both from the style and fabric of this coin that it belongs to the Cilician Germanicopolis, and not to the Paphlagonian city of the same name; but in addition to the name of Germanicopolis it bears that of another Cilician city, viz., Philadelphia. We may note in the outset that Germanicopolis, Philadelphia, and Olba, were in all probability within a short distance of one another, and all situate about the middle of the valley of the river Calycadnus, in the district which went by the name of Cetis, above and below the junction of the main stream with its largest northern arm. Olba is called on coins ΜΗΤ. ΚΗ. (*Μητρόπολις Κήτιος, Hist. Num.* 610).

Of Philadelphia two coins only are known, one of

Trajan and one of Maximinus (*Rev. Num.* 1858, 173, and Longp  erier, *Oeuvres* ii. 10). Both of these read ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ (or ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ) ΚΗΤΙΔΟΣ.

Of Germanicopolis, the site of which is fixed at the modern Ermenek, in the upper valley of the Calycadnus, the only coin hitherto published belongs to the reign of Hadrian (*Hist. Num.* p. 603). On the reverse is a laureate bust of Apollo with hair arranged in three formal curls; the inscription is ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙ-[ΤΩΝ].

The coin of Caligula which I now publish is therefore of importance, not only as the earliest known coin both of Germanicopolis and of Philadelphia, but as showing that these two cities were at one time closely connected with one another.

Philadelphia, as its name implies, was perhaps founded either by one of the later Seleucidae bearing the surname Philadelphos, or, as is far more probable, by Antiochus IV of Commagene, and his queen, Iotape, the latter of whom bore the title Philadelphos, perhaps because she was sister as well as wife of Antiochus IV. To this prince, as is well known, Caligula presented Cilicia Tracheia, and part of Lycaonia, A.D. 38, and coins prove that his dominion extended from Elaeusa-Sebaste in the east, to Anemurium in the west, and to Lycaonia in the north. There was also a town in Cilicia Tracheia, in the district called Selinitis, which was called after Iotape.

If this conjecture be well founded the heads on the coin may be intended to represent Antiochus and Iotape as the founders of the city of Philadelphia, an event which must in this case have taken place after A.D. 38, the year of their accession.

As another alternative, we may suppose the heads to
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stand for Germanicus and Agrippina, the father and mother of Caligula, whose head appears on the obverse ; or, again, they may be merely intended for the Dioscuri.

The sister city, Germanicopolis, may have been founded somewhat earlier, while Germanicus held command in the East, A.D. 18—19; or the two towns may have been founded simultaneously in the reign of Caligula (who also bore the surname Germanicus), A.D. 37—41; Germanicopolis by Caligula, and Philadelphia by Antiochus and Iotape.

From the occurrence of the title '*Iepēüs*' on our little coin, we may infer that under Caligula the district of Cetis, in which Philadelphia and Germanicopolis were situated, maintained a kind of quasi-autonomy, and that the magistrate or dynast Xanthus, entitled '*Iepēüs*', was permitted to exercise a limited authority over the territory of the two cities; an authority similar, perhaps, to that which was exercised by the '*Apχιερεüs*' under Augustus and Tiberius at the neighbouring city of Olbu, which, as M. Waddington has pointed out (*Mélanges de Numismatique*, ii. 109 *sqq.*), had been allowed by the Romans to remain under the government of its native dynasts.¹

¹ On this question Professor W. M. Ramsay writes to me as follows : "I am unable to accept your suggestion that Antiochus permitted a local Hierous to retain a limited authority and strike coins, as that would be tantamount to giving up the royal rights in the district. I think it is necessary to separate between the rule of Antiochus and that of Xanthus." Professor Ramsay thinks that this coin must have been struck between A.D. 38 and 41, during which time Antiochus, having lost favour, was temporarily deprived of his kingdom. The coin shows that the rule over part at least of Cilicia Tracheia was permitted by Caligula to a dynast who ruled in the hereditary Olbian fashion as '*Iepēüs*'. This dynast perhaps imitated the

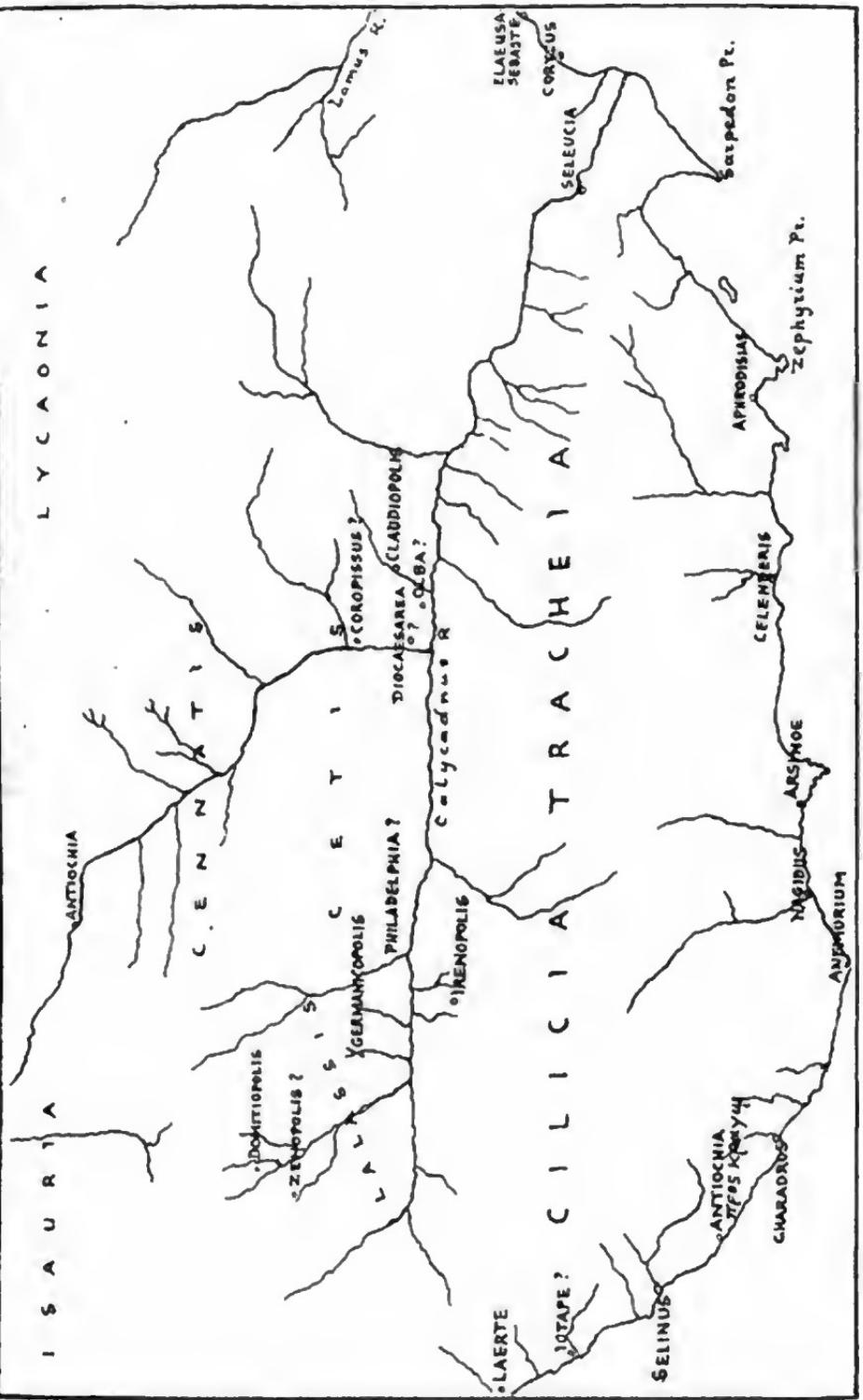
Of these rulers we know from coins the names of two only—Polemon, B.C. 39—29, or later, and Ajax, the son of Teucer, A.D. 11—15, or later. Polemon styles himself, 'Αρχιερεὺς δυνάστης Ὀλβέων τῆς ἱερᾶς Κεννάτων καὶ Λαλασσέων, and Ajax 'Αρχιερεὺς τόπαρχος Κεννάτων καὶ Λαλασσέων. They appear to have been descendants of a famous princely family, who maintained under Roman protection their local independence as hereditary High Priests of the Temple of Zeus, Dynasts of Olba, and Toparchs of the neighbouring regions Cennatis and Lalassis. Whether Ajax was the last of these rulers, or whether he had successors during the twenty-six years which elapsed between A.D. 15, the date of his last known coin, and A.D. 41, we cannot say. The history of Olba is a complete blank during this period. We next hear of it A.D. 41, when the Emperor Claudius conferred the principality of Olba upon Polemon II, King of Pontus, in exchange for his kingdom of Bosporus.

It is by no means improbable that before this country was handed over to the King of Pontus, and perhaps on the occasion of the foundation of Germanicopolis and Philadelphia (A.D. 38?), these towns were placed by the reigning dynast of Olba, with the sanction of Caligula, under the government of some scion of his own priestly family, and if so, that Xanthus may be the last of the race of the Teucridæ.

But this, of course, is mere conjecture, and all that we are able to affirm with certainty on the evidence of the

coins of his predecessor, who associated his wife Iotape with himself on his coins. In A.D. 41 Claudius again restored the kingdom to Antiochus and Iotape, who ruled until A.D. 72, not, however, over the whole of Cilicia Tracheia, for a part of it, including Kennatis and Lalassis, was bestowed upon Polemon of Pontus in exchange for his own kingdom.

THE VALLEY OF THE CALYCADNUS.



coin now before us is that in the reign of Caligula the neighbouring towns of Germanicopolis and Philadelphia in Cilicia struck money in the name and by the authority of one Xanthus, who bore the title 'Ιερέως. This specimen is thus the earliest coin of these little known cities. Subsequently we possess a coin of Germanicopolis struck under Hadrian, and coins of Philadelphia struck by Trajan (A.D. 98—117) and Maximinus (A.D. 235—238) respectively.

But though our numismatic records are unfortunately at present so incomplete there is reason to hope that the series of coins may be increased by future discoveries, for we know, on the authority of the geographer Ptolemy, A.D. 150, of the grammarian Hierocles, A.D. 530, the author of the *Συνέκδημος*, or *The Travelling Companion*, as well as on that of the *Acta Conciliorum* and of the Byzantine *Notitia Episcopatum*, that the three towns of Olba, Germanicopolis, and Philadelphia continued to exist side by side as independent cities and bishoprics at least down to the tenth century A.D.

The following is the order in which these and the other towns of this part of Cilicia are mentioned in Ptolemy, Hierocles, the *Notitia*, &c.

PTOLEMY, A.D. circ. 150.

Μεσόγειοι δέ εἰσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ τῆς μὲν Τραχείας Σελεύτιδος—

Κάῦστρος	64° 45'	. . . . .	87° 10'
Δομιτιόπολις	65° 25'	. . . . .	87° 5'
Φιλαδέλφεια	66°	. . . . .	87° 25'
Σελεύκεια Τραχεία	66° 10'	. . . . .	87° 55'
Διοκαισάρεια	66° 20'	. . . . .	87° 10'

Κητίδος δὲ

"Ολβασα 64° 30' 87° 30'

(Lib. V. cap. 8, § 5, 6.)

It is needless to remark that Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes, calculated from distances in stadia given in itineraries to which he had access, and which probably contained many errors, afford no trustworthy indication of the exact positions of the places he mentions.

CONCILIUM CHALCEDONENSE (p. 659), A.D. 451.

In the list of bishops present at this council are the names of those both of Germanicopolis and of Philadelphia, viz. : Τυράννος Γερμανικουπόλεως and Μέγας Φιλαδέλφειας.

HIEROCLIS SYNECDEMUS (§ 45), A.D. 530.

Διοκαισάρεια
"Ολβη
Κλαυδιούπολις
Ίεράπολις
Δαλιστανδός
Γερμανικόπολις
Είρηνόπολις
Φιλαδέλφεια

NOTITIA EPISCOPATUUM.

Notitia I. A.D. 883.	Notitia III. A.D. 10th cent.	Notitia X.
Διοκαισάρεια	δ Διοκαισαρείας	δ Διοκαισαρείας
'Ολνα	δ "Ολβας	δ "Ολβας
Ίεράπολις	δ Κλαυδιουπόλεως	δ Κλαυδιουπόλεως
Νιάπολις	δ Νεαπόλεως	δ Νεαπόλεως
Δαλιστανδός	δ Δαλιστανδοῦ	δ Δαλιστανδοῦ
Κλαυδιούπολις	δ Φιλαδελφειας	δ Φιλαδελφειας
Είρηνούπολις	δ 'Αδρασοῦ	δ 'Αδρασοῦ
Γερμανικούπολις	δ Μελόης	δ Μελόης
Σηνινόπολις	δ Είρηνουπόλεως	δ Είρηνουπόλεως
Σβδη	δ Γερμανικουπόλεως	δ Γερμανικουπόλεως
Φιλαδέλφεια		

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, A.D. 911—959.

De Thematibus, I. p. 15.

DECAPOLIS.

Τὰ δὲ ἄνω Σελευκίας καὶ μεσόγαια καλέται Δεκάπολις καὶ ὡσπερ

πρώτη μὲν	Γέρμανικούπολις
δευτέρα δὲ	Τιτιούπολις
τρίτη	Δομετιούπολις
τετάρτη	Ζηνούπολις
πέμπτη	Νεάπολις
ἕκτη	Κλανδιούπολις
ἴβδόμη	Εἰρηνούπολις
όγδοη	Καισάρεια
ένατη	Λαϊζαδος
δεκάτη	Δαλισανδός

In the accompanying sketch map of Cilicia Tracheia I have inserted the names of Philadelphia, Diocaesarea, Olba, and Coropissus conjecturally. Domitiopolis and Zenopolis I have placed at the modern Dindebol and Isnebol (see map in Sterrett's "Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor" in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. iii.). The site of Eirenopolis at Irnebol, on the southern side of the river, may also be considered as fixed. Leako's conjecture (*Num. Hell. Asia*, p. 61), that Eirenopolis stood near the promontory of Zephyrium, must now be definitely abandoned. It rested solely on a coin which was supposed to read **ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΖΕΦΥΡΙΩΤΩΝ** (Vaillant, *Num. Gr.*, and Banduri, i. p. 68), the true legend of which was doubtless **ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΖΕΦΥΡΙΩΤΩΝ** (*Hist. Num.* p. 618), and it belongs, not to Eirenopolis, but to Adriana-Zephyrium, on the coast of Cilicia Campestris, between Tarsus and Soli. But whether the coins reading **ΕΙΡΗΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ**, dating from an era commencing A.D. 52, belong to the Eirenopolis in the Calycadnus valley, or to another Eirenopolis, which Professor Ramsay believes to have been situated on the upper course of the Pyramus, in the neighbourhood of Anazarbus, is not quite clear.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

XIII.

A NEW TYPE OF CARAUSIUS.

THE type of Carausius described below appears to be unpublished—it is at any rate unknown to the British Museum, and does not appear in the second edition of Cohen, or in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*—and may be regarded as of some interest.

Æ 3. *Obv. IMP. C. CARAVSIVS AVG.* Draped bust of Carausius to right, with radiated crown.

Rev. HERC · DEVSENIENSI. Hercules standing to left, leaning his right hand on his club, and holding out in his extended left hand a patera, from which he pours a libation.

The inscription reads backwards, but every letter is perfectly distinct.

The type of Hercules Deusoniensis is one which has hitherto been found on the coins of Postumus alone. It is of a distinctly Gallic character, the title Deusoniensis being given to Hercules either from some unknown Gallic town Deuso, or as being the name of a Celtic god identified with him, just as Sul was identified with Minerva, or Belatucadrus with Mars. On the coins of Postumus, Hercules Deusoniensis and Hercules Magusanus are both commemorated. The latter god was certainly worshipped in Britain, as an altar dedicated to him by a Tungrian cohort has been dug up at Mumerills, near Falkirk

(*Corpus Inscr. Britann.*, 1090). But I am not aware that any similar dedication to Hercules Deusoniensis has been discovered.

The type of this coin is not a servile copy of that found on the money of Postumus. It does not exactly resemble any of the three main varieties of the earlier reign, which give respectively a bust of the god, and his figure placed in a tetrastyle temple, or standing full face with the club resting on a rock. The type is, therefore, an original one, witnessing to the worship of Hercules Deusoniensis in Britain, probably by the Gallic troops stationed in this country.

It will be observed that on this coin one letter of the god's title is mis-spelt, Deuseniensi appearing instead of Deusoniensi.

The coin, which is in excellent preservation, was purchased, along with several other coins of Carausius, in a miscellaneous lot of late Roman bronze sold at Messrs. Sotheby's in August last.

C. OMAN.



XIV.

ON THE HALF-NOBLE OF THE THIRD COINAGE OF EDWARD III.

THE gold coinage of Edward III. has been very properly divided under four heads. The first coinage was that of the florin, half-florin, and quarter-florin, in 1343. All these pieces are of excessive rarity. The second coinage was in 1344, and consisted of the noble, weighing $138\frac{4}{5}$ grains, and its divisions, the half (or maille) and quarter (or ferling) noble. The noble and quarter-noble have L, for London, in the centre of the reverse, but it is said that one of the latter in the possession of Mr. Rashleigh, and weighing $34\frac{1}{2}$ grains, has Q instead of L. I have not had the advantage of seeing this piece, and should be slow to form any conclusion as to its attribution simply on the ground of its weight. At the same time I do not doubt the statement made, as it is very probable that immediately before the third coinage the one letter may have been substituted for the other. No specimen of the half-noble is known, but it may fairly be assumed to have existed, and one may yet be discovered. The third coinage, generally known as that of the twentieth year, was authorised in 1346, and likewise consisted of the noble and its divisions. The noble of this coinage, which is

very rare, was 128 $\frac{1}{4}$ th grains only in weight; the quarter noble is not of uncommon occurrence.

As to the half-noble, which is the *fons et origo* of this short note, I postpone my observations in order to refer here more conveniently to the fourth and last coinage. This, issued in 1351, again consisted of the noble and its divisions. There is a considerable variation in the smaller details of the type and legends on these, and particularly in connection with the titles of the king, who was designated King of France on coins struck before the Treaty of Bretigny, and not afterwards until the year 1369, when that treaty was broken by Charles V. The noble of this issue was further reduced to the weight of 120 grains, which continued to be the standard weight until 1412, the thirteenth year of Henry IV.

Now with regard to the half-noble of the third coinage, no specimen was ever said to exist, nor was any example pretended to be described or figured, until Mr. Kenyon, in his *Gold Coins of England* (1884), described and gave an illustration of a half-noble in the national collection, which he unhesitatingly attributed to this coinage. With great submission I cannot accept this attribution. The half-noble referred to is clearly one of the fourth coinage. It is true that the weight, although the flan is somewhat clipped, is as much as 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains, but in dealing with the smaller pieces, both of the gold and silver coinage of this country, it is eminently unsafe to be guided by considerations of weight only. In connection with other characteristics the question of weight is, of course, very often of great importance, and more so in some series than in others, but as I have before had occasion to assert in these pages, the type and style of workmanship are much more trustworthy guides, and, in fact, very

often the only safe ones. The workmanship and lettering of the noble and quarter-noble of the third coinage are very peculiar, and differ in essential respects from those of the coins of the fourth issue. This is apparent even to an unpractised eye, which could scarcely fail to detect the more careful work, coupled nevertheless with the freer and bolder rendering of the letters, which are also always larger and more distinct than on the pieces of the fourth coinage. The α in the centre of the reverse is always large and conspicuous and never small, as on the coin figured by Mr. Kenyon, and the Ω 's are of the Lombardic and not of the Roman shape, as on that coin. A distinguishing feature also is the form of the $\bar{\alpha}$'s and $\bar{\epsilon}$'s, which differs from that on any pieces that I have ever seen of the subsequent coinage, but resembles the form of the same letters on coins of the previous issue; although on this point I may observe that the noble of the second coinage in the national collection has the same kind of $\bar{\alpha}$, though my example of the same coin has the simple barred π . In addition to the characteristics mentioned, the coins of this issue are wider spread, and the gold has the appearance of being less alloyed.

On a noble of the third coinage in Mr. Evans's collection the form $\bar{\alpha}$ occurs on the obverse, while on the reverse it is π .

A keen numismatist is always on the watch for a desiderated rarity, and the late Mr. William Brice, who was well versed in all the subtleties of our English coinage, thought that he had at last obtained a half-noble of the third issue when, at the sale of the coins of the late Rev. E. J. Shepherd (Lot 134), he secured a piece of this denomination which weighed over $61\frac{1}{2}$ grains. His manuscript note is as follows: "This very rare half-noble is of the

twentieth year, and it is of the same type as lot 130. Reverse, m.m. cross patée. Legend, DOMINI IN FVRORI
TVO R6VTVS (*sic*) M⁶, omitting R⁶. Though slightly clipped, the weight is over 62 grains. In centre of reverse is a large Q as on the noble. W. B."

This piece was purchased by Mr. Shepherd at Forster's sale (lot 17), and was described in that catalogue as being "a very rare variety, and of the weight of 61½ grains." It certainly has the large Q in the centre of the reverse, but here again an excessive reliance upon mere weight caused Mr. Brice to err in his judgment. I have two other specimens identical in type with his coin, both weighing more than 60 grains, and I have seen several other examples, all being of the so-called "cursing" type, *i.e.* omitting the R⁶ in the reverse legend. It is clear that they must all be referred to the fourth coinage, not only for the considerations already urged by me, but also because the king's title as King of France is omitted; a fatal omission, proving that they must have been struck after the Treaty of Bretigny.

Was then any half-noble of the third coinage issued, and does any example still exist? This question I venture to answer in the affirmative on the strength of a piece in my possession, which I now describe, and of which an illustration accompanies this paper. *Ov.*—The usual type, but of the same careful work and free and bold character as on the noble, the shield of the king being in like manner large and with large bearings; four ropes from the stern and two to the prow, Q (*sic*) DW⁶RD × D × 6R⁶ × R⁶X × A⁶L × S × RR⁶RD DNS hYB. *Rev.*—Same type as the noble, m.m. cross, slightly patée, and in that respect similar to the m.m. on the noble and quarter noble; DOMINI × R⁶ × IN × FVRORI × TVO × R6VTAS × M⁶ ×;

large \mathbb{E} in centre of the reverse. It will be seen that the A's and F's are of the peculiar formation before referred to. There is, moreover, another important peculiarity that must be mentioned—the shape of the central compartment enclosing the letter \mathbb{E} on the reverse. On all the nobles and half-nobles of Edward III. the shape of this compartment or frame is that of a quaterfoil, with four projecting angles or points between the foils. On all the half-nobles of the fourth coinage of Edward III. at present known, there are close to each of these four points either three small pellets arranged as a trefoil or else an annulet. It is probable that some may also exist with a single large pellet at each of these points, as nobles with this peculiarity occur; and there are corresponding quarter-nobles with a pellet in each of the angles of the central cross on the reverse. In the half-noble to which I am calling attention there are no ornaments whatever at the points of the compartment, so that in this respect also there is a marked distinction between my coin and those of the fourth coinage. The coin is of a wide-spread module, and I should be glad to be able to add that the weight is, or should be, 64 grains or thereabouts. I am, however, bound to admit that the piece which, though cracked, is in very good condition, weighs but 54 grains. This forms, of course, a powerful argument, if weight alone be relied upon, against the accuracy of my attribution, but it must be pointed out that this weight is also very abnormal for a half-noble of even the fourth coinage, and I can only explain it by suggesting that it was either struck as a specimen (the gold being certainly in appearance of a finer quality than that of the last coinage) or in error, on a flan of less than the proper weight, or that all the half-nobles of this coinage which

were issued were of too light a weight, and were for that reason withdrawn. This would account for the excessive rarity of this coin, and in fact for its total absence from our cabinets, unless it be agreed that my piece supplies the gap. I have very little doubt myself but that it does, both for the reasons stated and on account of the general appearance of the coin, which is an important feature to the student of the varied types of our third Edward.

If, however, I fail to satisfy others on this point, I think they will be disposed to agree that the coin is, in any event, struck from dies prepared for the half-noble of the third coinage; as the half-noble of that coinage must certainly have been struck in accordance with the express terms of the king's indenture and proclamation, although it would appear that pieces of that denomination of all the coinages were probably issued in less quantities than either the noble or quarter-noble, and are therefore considerably scarcer to this day.

H. MONTAGU.

XV.

MEDALS OF SCOTLAND.

SINCE the publication of my *Catalogue of the Medals of Scotland*, many specimens not known to me at the time of the issue of that work have come under my notice. I have thought that it might be of some interest from time to time to record them, in the hope that at some future day a complete catalogue may be possible.

To the historical medals not much can be added. The medals of the earlier kings of Scotland noticed as probably the work of Tassie, may now certainly be ascribed to that artist. At a recent sale I acquired a complete set from David II. to James VI., and including one, hitherto undescribed, of Mary Queen of Scots, from a much younger portrait than the one described at page 15. The following medals are additions to the Catalogue, and the references are to the pages of that work.

49a, page 116.—BARCLAY DE TOLLY, 1759—1818.

Prince Michael Barclay de Tolly was descended from the Barclays of Tolly or Towie, in Aberdeenshire, and became one of the most distinguished of Russian generals.

Obr.—His head to the left in a wreath of laurels. Above it, BARCLAY DE TOLLI: below, in small letters, LOOS.

Rev.—His arms on mantle, crowned.

Size, 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in., 29 m. Metal, *R. *Æ. Pl. XII. 1.



2

3

2



4



5



4



6





79a, page 125.

Of Sir James Wylie the following rare medal exists:—

The obverse bears his bust bareheaded, to the left, in court dress, with orders and decorations; below it, IACOB WYLIE. EQUES. BARONETTUS. MED. ET. CHIR. DR. PLURR. ORDD. EQUES. Across the arm, I. ΛЯΛΠНЬ (I. Lialen); with the legend (in two circles) IMPERAT. ROS. A. CONSIL. INTIM. ET ARCHIATER. SUPR. REI. MED. CHIR. CASTREN. INSPECTOR QUONDAM. ACADEM. MED. CHIR. PETROP. ET. MOSQ. XXX. A. PRÆS. ATQ. CUR. MED. MIL. DIRECT.

The reverse bears within a wreath of laurel the following inscription; viz.



VIRO. ILLUSTRISS.
SUB. TRIUM. IMPERAT. AUSPIC.
EGREGIO. MEDICINÆ. CASTRENS.
IN. ROSSIA. MODERATORI.
ANNOS. L. ARTI. SALUTARI. CONSECRATOS.
VENERABUNDI. GRATULANTUR.
ROSSLÆ. MEDICI.
PETROPOLI : D.IX. DEC. MDCCCXL.

DECORUM.
FORTITER. PRO. PATRIA. PUGNASSE.
NON. MINUS. DECORUM.
SAUCIUM. SANASSE. MILITEM.

Size, 2½ in., 54 m. Metal, AE*. Pl. XII. 2.

3*, page 131.

Of Law, of Lauriston, the following medals have been added to my cabinet:—

On the obverse, a man, partially undressed, lighting his pipe and emitting coins, some of which are flying away. Above is the inscription: NVMVS VBI LOQUITVR. [Money, when he speaks.] The legend (chronogrammatic) is: BEETER IN DE WYDE WERELT ALS IN DE NAUE BUYK OF KIST. [Better is the wide world, than in the narrow stomach or chest.—1613.] In the exergue: NOOIT BREEKT YSER. 22 PRO. CENT. [Necessity breaks iron. 22 per cent.—101.]

The reverse has an inscription (chronogrammatic) in seven lines: EN MAGNAS DAT OPES CELEBER LAVV FOENORE qVESTVs. [Behold, the renowned Law, by nsury of gain, gives great wealth.—1720.] And the legend: kOMT SEHT DAS FRANTZ-VoLCK AN! HERR LAVV THVT GROSSE THATTEN! [Come, see the people of France; Mr. Law doeth great things.—1720.]

Size, 1½ in., 33 m. Metal, AR*.

4*, page 131.

Another has on the obverse a man blowing script or bank-notes from a pair of bellows, and calling out WER KAVFT ACTIEN? [Who will buy shares?] with the legend, WER SICH DVRCH DIESEN WIND DEM GELDGEITZ LAESSET FVHREN. [Who in his desire for money will allow himself to be led by this wind?] In the exergue, SEY KLVG V. WIZIG IN VERKEHREN. [Be prudent and cautious in your transactions.]

The reverse shows a dog crossing a bridge over a stream and dropping a bundle of script, the shadow of which is seen in the water below. The legend is, DER KAN VERWIRRVNGS VOLL SEIN HAAB . V. GVTH VERLIEREN. [Full of confusion he may lose his goods and possessions.] In the exergue is SOLL DICH ESOPI HVND NICHT LEHREN. 1720. [Will you not learn a lesson from the dog of Æsop?]

Size, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., 44 m. Metal, AR*. Pl. XII. 3.

5*, page 131.

Another has—

On the obverse: Law standing looking through a magnifying glass at bank-notes on a table to his right; at left, a money-chest. The legend, in three lines, is—

VERGRÖSRVNGS GLAS THVTS HIER VND AN
SO VIELEN ENDEN
DAS SICH DIE KLVGSTEN AVCH DIE
GELDSVCHT LASSEN BLENDEN.

[The magnifying glass makes here and there so many sides that the wisest are blinded in their greed for money.] In the exergue, in two lines—

DER ACTIEN BETRVG VND LIST.

[The deceit and fraud of the bonds.]

On the reverse: a figure hanging on a tree, another running off to the right, a third walks to the edge of the water-pool, into which a fourth has just fallen. The legend, in two lines—
 DAS SPIEL IST NVN ENDECKT DAS BLAT HAT
 SICH GEWEND. V. SO MACCHT DER BETRVG EIN
 SCHRECKENVOLLES END. [The game is now discovered,
 the tables now are turned, and so the fraud comes to a fearful
 end.] In the exergue, in three lines—

DER GANZEN WELT EIN
 DENKMAL IST.
 1720.

[A warning (lit. a memorial) to the whole world.]

Size, 1½ in., 40 m. Metal, AR. Pl. XII. 4.

15*a, page 139.

A medal of the High School, Edinburgh, bears on the obverse the arms of the school, and on the reverse a long engraved inscription in Latin. Awarded to Matthew Kinnaird in 1855. In a gilt rim, with loop for suspension.

Size, 2½ in., 54 m. Metal, AR*.

[For description of Pl. XII. 5, see page 181, *Scot. Med.*]

16*a, page 139.

A medal to commemorate the Centenary of the S. S. C., bears on the obverse a figure of Justice in the clouds, with the Sword and Scales, surrounded by the legend, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE SOCIETY. MDCCCLXXXIV.

The reverse has the arms and motto of the Society, with the legend, in two lines, SOCIETY OF SOLICITORS IN THE SUPREME COURTS OF SCOTLAND. INST. 12 JAN 1784. INCOR. BY ROYAL CHARTER 20 FEB 1797. INCOR. BY ACT OF PARL. 18 JULY 1871. Below, ADMITTED MEMBER.

Size, 2½ in., 54 m. Metal, AR*.

The following additional engraved tickets have been acquired:—

33*a, page 144.

On the obverse, the Castle of Edinburgh engraved on one side, with the legend, RUNNING STATIONER.

The reverse has ALEX^R CALLENDER 2 JAN^{RY} 1802, engraved in four lines.

33^{*b}, page 144.

Another has CORRIS NEW ROOMS No. 4. N. Cor. engraved in three lines.

Reverse plain.

33^{*c}, page 144.

Another circular has ROYAL INSTITUTION 1819.

And on the reverse, LORD HERMUND, engraved.

15^{*a}, page 154.

In the University of Glasgow a new medal has been added.

The obverse bears the figure of S. Kentigern, and the legend, on a raised rim, THE CUNNINGHAME MEDAL FOR MATHEMATICS. 1887.

The reverse, the bust of Professor Simson, with the legend, ROB. SIMSON. MATH. PROF. GLASG. 1711. 1761. In the exergue, —1746—. Below the bust (on the shoulder) in spiral letters, A. KIRKWOOD, sc.

Size, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., 48 m. Metal, AR.

This medal was founded in 1886, by the late Andrew Cunningham, who was a native of Irvine and Depute Town Clerk of Glasgow. The portrait of Simson is from the *Opera Reliqua* published with his portrait under the superintendence of his friend and colleague, Clow, shortly after his death. The sum of £8 a year goes to the medallist. It is given annually for proficiency in mathematics.

6^{*}, page 162.

A new medal has also been given to the University of Aberdeen.

The obverse bears a bust of Principal Bain to the left, with the legend, BAIN MEDAL FOR PHILOSOPHY. M.DCCC.LXXXIII. In small letters, below the bust, A. KIRKWOOD & SON SC.

The reverse has the arms and motto of the university, with the legend, UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Size, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., 45 m. Metal, N. AR*. Pl. XII. 6.

7*, page 162.

The following local Aberdeen pieces are also new:—

A small silver circular medal, with loop and ribbon, having on the obverse the arms, with supporters and motto, of the town of Aberdeen.

On the reverse, engraved, HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, LANDED AT ABERDEEN. 8th September, 1848. HONORARY GUARD OF CITIZENS & FOOT DEE QUARTER. Round the edge, ARTHUR THOMSON, CAPTAIN.

Size, 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in., 29 m. Metal, AR*.

8*, page 162.

An oval silver badge having on the one side engraved, FROM THE TRUE BLUE SOCIETY OF GARDENERS. ABERDEEN. 2.

On the other side, REWARD OF MERIT 1799. To

4*, page 163.—PERTH GOLFING CLUB.

The obverse bears the thistle imposed on golf clubs within a wreath, and crowned. Below, the date 1888, with the legend, PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL GOLFING SOCIETY BY THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

The reverse has a group of golfers engaged in the national game. Below, in small letters, B. WYON, SC.

Size, 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in., 63 m. Metal, N. AR. AR*.

Mr. Wyon informs me (July, 1888) that this medal is very rare. The dies were destroyed immediately after the gold specimen was struck. One specimen in silver

was struck for Mr. Wyon's own collection, and one or two in bronze have been seen.

9*, page 186.

Of curling medals the following is new:—

On the obverse a curler, bearded, in the act of delivering a stone; another stone and broom on the ice. Trees and hills in the distance. Below, in small letters, KIRKWOOD AND SON EDINR.

Size, 1½ in., 41 m. Metal, AR*.

(1887.)

1*, page 187.—BOWLING.

The obverse bears four figures on a bowling-green, with trees and cottage in the background. One is in the act of delivering the bowl. Below, in small letters, KIRKWOOD AND SON EDINBURGH.

Size, 1½ in., 41 m. Metal, AR*.

(1887.)

R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK.

XVI.

ON SWISS TIR MEDALS.

IT occurred to me that the series which I exhibit to-day, of what I suppose ought properly to be called silver *medals*, might offer some interest, as at the time of their issue they also partook of the nature of *coins*. They were issued in Switzerland, from 1842 to 1885, as prizes to marksmen at the well-known federal rifle shooting meetings, which take place approximately every other year in one or other of the cantons, and which commenced in 1824; but, although struck as medals for the above purpose, there was this peculiarity about them, that they passed as money during the meetings, and were then called "écus," say crowns. Up to 1855 there was some irregularity in their weight: the first struck in 1842 had its value, four Swiss francs—equivalent to six modern ones—stamped upon it; another, that of 1847, had forty batz, being the same value, whilst others were of slightly different weights; but during the thirty years from 1855 to 1885 inclusive, they were all struck at the Swiss Government Mint, were of the weight of the modern five-franc piece, and passed as such, "5 francs" being actually stamped upon them, except in two cases (1861 and 1874).

The 1855 coin, the first of this new series, was identical with the current five-franc piece, excepting the edge, which, instead of being milled, had upon it the name of

the canton and town Solothurn (Soleure) where the meeting then took place, and the date.

These medals or coins, many of which have considerable artistic merit, several bearing the name of the well-known medallist, Bovy, for instance, record various historical or traditional events. For instance, the Schaffhausen "écu" of 1865 has on its obverse the town of Schaffhausen, represented as a female figure with a mural crown, guarding the son of William Tell, who holds in his hand an arrow which has pierced the traditional apple. Again, the 1883 écu, struck for the meeting at Lugano, the capital of the Italian canton of Tessin, represents the Swiss Confederation, in her female form, seated with the above-mentioned canton on the St. Gothard Mountain, and a railway train just emerging beneath them from that magnificent engineering work, the St. Gothard Tunnel, which had not been long completed.

These crowns continued to be coined until 1885, but the Federal Government refused to sanction any more being issued for the next meeting at Geneva in 1887 or thereafter, very properly considering that this interfered with its monopoly of coinage, for as many as twenty-five thousand were struck for the Bern meeting of 1885, and thirty thousand for each of the previous meetings at Bâle, Fribourg, and Lugano, in 1879, 1881, and 1883.

The medals (bronze or silver) offered at Geneva last year had no pretence to being coins.

An interesting pamphlet appeared on this subject during the last meeting at Geneva, written by Mr. Eugène Demole, the chief of the coin department of the Geneva Museum, and by another gentleman of that city, from whom I have gleaned some of the above details.

A. PREVOST.

XVII.

THE COINS OF THE DURRĀNIS.

THE object of this paper is to give an account of the coinage of the kings of the Durrānī Dynasty, who reigned in Khorāsān and North-west India until they were superseded by the Bārakzai family, the Sikhs, the Kājār kings of Persia, and the Amirs of Sindh. The coins of Ahmad Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, have been described by Mr. C. J. Rodgers (*J. A. S. Bengal*, 1885, pt. i.), and I shall now deal only with the coinage of his successors from the date of Taimūr Shāh's accession in A.D. 1773, to their final expulsion from Kābul by the Bārakzais in A.D. 1842. The coins of the Bārakzais will not be described in this paper.

On the death of Ahmad Shāh in June, 1773 (A.H. 1187), Taimūr succeeded to a widespread but unstable kingdom, including Kashmīr and Multān on the east, Khorāsān on the west, and the nominal suzerainty over Kalāt on the south. During his life he was able to keep together the majority of the dominions he inherited, and it was reserved for his sons to see the kingdom fall to pieces on account of their intestine feuds. The Khānāt of Kalāt became practically independent during Zamān Shāh's reign. Western Khorāsān, where Shāh-Rukh, Nūdir Shāh's grandson, had been maintained in a nominal sovereignty by

Ahmad Shāh and Taimūr Shāh, was seized by Āghā Muhammad Kājār (1796=A.H. 1211). Kashmīr rebelled immediately on Taimūr Shāh's death, and, although conquered, it became a perfect hotbed of rebels and pretenders, until finally taken possession of by the Sikhs in A.D. 1819.

Multān was a precarious possession even in Taimūr Shāh's reign. It was taken by the Sikhs in 1781 (A.H. 1195), and Taimūr Shāh was himself forced to lead an army to its recovery. It finally fell into the hands of the Sikhs in 1818 (A.H. 1234). This was followed by the conquest of Dēra Ghāzī Khān and the whole of the Southern Dērajāt in 1819 (A.H. 1235), and Dēra Ismā'il Khān with the Northern Dērajāt in 1821 (A.H. 1237). Dēra Ismā'il Khān was however administered up to 1836 (A.H. 1252) by the Saddozai Nawābs, Hāfiz Ahmad and Sher Muhammad, who continued to strike coins in Mahmūd Shāh's name, even after his death. In 1836 Nannibāl Singh took formal possession on behalf of Ranjīt Singh.

Peshāwar was stoutly contested by the Bārakzai Sardārs, who upheld the puppet king Ayyūb Shāh, but it too fell into Ranjīt Singh's hands in 1834 (A.H. 1250).

Northern Sindh was also in frequent rebellion from the time of Taimūr Shāh's succession, but was nominally retained till Mahmūd Shāh's second reign, 1809 (A.H. 1224), when it fell into the hands of the Baloch Amīrs and of Ranjīt Singh. Bahāwalpur, under its Dāūdpotra Chiefs, also threw off its nominal allegiance about this time.

The province of Turkistān lying south of the Oxus became independent, but was afterwards reconquered by the Bārakzais. This province, with Herāt and Sistān, are the only outlying provinces attached to the Afghān

kingdom which are still retained by the Bārakzai dynasty. Herāt was retained by Mahmūd Shāh after he had lost the rest of his dominions till 1829 (A.H. 1245), and his son Kāmrān maintained himself there till 1842 (A.H. 1258). In 1839 Shāh Shujā'-ul-mulk again obtained possession of Kābul with British assistance, and was killed there in February, 1842. His son Fath Jang nominally succeeded him, and was for a short time maintained by Muhammad Akbar Khān, son of Dost Muhammad, but he had to leave the country the same year, and the Durrānī Dynasty came to an end in Kābul in name as well as in reality. Kāmrān, the son of Mahmūd Shāh, who had maintained himself at Herāt since his father's death in 1829, was also murdered by his Wazīr, Yūr Muhammad Khān, in 1842, shortly after Shāh Shujā'-ul-mulk's death, and thus the last remaining trace of the family's power disappeared.

The history of the Durrānīs is an almost unparalleled series of treasons, rebellions, plots, and murders, and it would be impossible to go into it with any fulness in such a limited space. The Chronological Table appended will suffice to mark a few of the more important dates, and to illustrate the bearing of the course of events upon the coinage.¹

¹ The following are among the more accessible works referring to this period :

Elphinstone's Caubool, 2 vols. London, 1839.

Ferrier's History of the Afghāns, 1 vol. London, 1858.

Mohan Lāl's Life of Dost Muhammad Khān, 2 vols. London, 1846.

Shahāmat Ālī, Sikhs and Afghāns, London.

Shahāmat Ālī, Picturesque Sketches in India, London, 1843.

Wāki'at-i-Durrānī (in Urdu).

Tārikh-i-Sultānī, by Sultān Muhammad Khān.

THE COINAGE.

The mints of the Durrānī kings were situated at the following places :

- Kābul.
- Peshāwar.
- Ahmadshāhī (Qandahār).
- Herāt.
- Meshhed.
- Khoī.
- Atak.
- Multān.
- Lahore.
- Dērajāt (Dēra Ismā'il Khān).
- Dēra (Dēra Ghāzī Khān).
- Dēra Fath Khān.
- Bhakhar.
- Kashmīr.
- Bahāwalpur.

Kābul always bears the title of Dār-us-saltanat, 'The Capital,' and this is also usually borne by Herāt. Kashmīr is described on the coins as Khita-i Kashmīr, 'the province of Kashmīr,' and on a coin of Zamān Shāh's it is called Dār-us-saltanat. Ahmadshāhī is the name given to Ahmad Shāh's new foundation at Qandahār. It always bears the prefix of Ashraf-ul-bilād 'the most illustrious of cities.' This name was dropped by the Amīr Dost Muhammad after the expulsion of Ahmad Shāh's descendants, and he reverted to the old name Qandahār. The Amīr Abd-ur-rahmān, however, has again introduced the name Ahmadshāhī on his coins.

Meshhed is described, as on the coins of the Safavīs and Afshārīs, by the title of Meshhed-i-muqaddas. Taimūr





Shāh, following the example of his father, struck coins at this place which bear a strong resemblance to those struck by Shāh-Rukh, Nādir Shāh's grandson, whom they maintained there. This mint does not appear after Taimūr Shāh's death.

Khoī (in Ādharbajān) also appears in Taimūr Shāh's reign only. It is not included in the series here described, but Mr. Leggett² has a coin of Taimūr Shāh's struck there in A.H. 1198.

At this time Southern Persia was still under the rule of 'Alī Murād Khān Zendī, and Āghā Muhammad Kājār was establishing his independence in Mazandarān. He was soon to reunite Ādharbajān and Khorāsān to the Persian kingdom.

Multān retains its old appellation of Dār-ul-amān, but none of the other mints have any distinctive title.

The accompanying table of mints shows the dates and the kings found under each. The fluctuations of power are faithfully reflected in the coinage. This is clearly shown in the very full series of rupees of the Dērajāt mint, where the alternations of power between Mahmūd Shāh and Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh may all be traced. The Peshāwar mint also illustrates these fluctuations, and shows the establishment of the puppet king Ayyūb Shāh, under the control of Muhammad 'Azīm Khān Bārakzai, as a rival to Mahmūd Shāh, from 1817 (A.H. 1233) until the capture of Peshāwar by the Sikhs. The Kashmīr series also possesses many points of interest, commencing with the posthumous coin of Taimūr Shāh which marks the revolt of the province on his death, with difficulty sup-

² Notes on the mint-towns and coins of the Mohamedans. By E. Leggett. London : Stevens and Sons, 1885. p. 51, s.v. Khoi.

pressed by Zamān Shāh. Again, the coins of Qaisar Shāh, son of Shāh Zamān, dated 1221 and 1223 (A.D. 1808), mark the revolt of that prince against his uncle Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh at the instigation of the Wazir Fath Khān. After him, during the years 1223—1225, the governors of Kashmir, Nūr-ud-dīn, and Muhammad Shāh,³ struck in their own names, and afterwards, in 1233, Ayyūb Shāh's coins were struck in Kashmir, as well as at Peshāwar. Possibly the couplet on these coins (Nos. 148, 149, 150) bears some allusion to the name of his protector, Muhammad 'Azim Khān. It runs :

Sikka-i Ayyūb Shāh ba-zar o sīm
Shud ba-hukm-i Yādgār-i 'Azīm.

Mahmūd Shāh's coins of the Kābul and some of the Peshāwar mint bear the title Sultān Mahmūd, and on these he appears to reckon the year of his accession as 1224 or 1225, the year he drove out Shujā'-ul-mulk, and not as 1216, the date of the commencement of his first reign.⁴

These Sultān Mahmūd coins have a Persian couplet differing from that on his other coins, although he keeps the title of *Khusrau*. Mahmūd Shāh's coins of the Herāt mint are most abundant, and they seem to have sufficed for the needs of the currency during Kāmrān's reign. As far as I am aware, no coins struck in Kāmrān's name have yet been met with. In the Dērajāt mint, Mahmūd Shāh's name was continued on the coins by the Saddozai Nawābs

³ Muhammad 'Azīm Khān was Governor of Kashmir from 1811—1816 (A.H. 1227—1232), and the coins bearing the name Muhammad Shāh must have been struck by him (see Nos. 139—140).

⁴ See also No. 94 of the Dērajāt mint, which is dated 1224, year 1 (ahd), although coins of an earlier date had been struck at the same mint in Mahmūd Shāh's name.

even after his death, till A.H. 1250 (1834), after which date the Sikhs, having taken over the administration, began to strike in the name of Guru Govind Singh. I have a coin of this mint dated Sambat 1906 (1849), when the Khālsa army was making its last struggle against the British Government.⁵

The Lahore mint, so common on the coins of Ahmad Shāh, is found on those of Taimūr Shāh, as his father's Nizām in A.H. 1170 (1756), but never after his accession to the throne. The Sikh power was then too firmly established to admit of any such coins being struck at Lahore.

At the Multān mint gold and silver were struck by Taimūr Shāh as Nizām, and he and his successors continued to use the mint. Copper was extensively struck in the names of Taimūr Shāh, Zamān Shāh and Mahmūd Shāh. Some in Mahmūd Shāh's name were struck long after the Sikh conquest, as is shown by No. 111, A.H. 1244 (1828). A very fine series in gold and silver was struck at the Bahāwalpur mint in Shujū'-ul-mulk's first year, and the fine double mohar of Mahmūd (No. 79, pl. xiii. No. 11) was struck also in his first year.

The mint at Dēra (Dēra Ghāzī Khān) seems to have struck gold and silver during the reigns of Ahmad Shāh and Taimūr Shāh, but afterwards to have been confined to copper. There is also a very curious series struck at Dēra Fath Khan, bearing on one side a sort of monogram of the words Dēra Fath, and on the other the figure of an animal, popularly supposed to be a cat, from which these

⁵ Sikh coins of the Dērajāt mint are figured in Mr. C. J. Rodgers's paper on the Coins of the Sikhs (J.A.S. Bengal, 1881, pt. i. pl. viii. Nos. 49, 50).

coins are known in the Dērajāt as "Billshāhī paisā." These continued into the Sikh times, as the dates (up to A.H. 1267) show. They seem to have been imitated from the copper coinage of the Safavī kings, of which many specimens bearing figures of lions and other animals are found in the Dērajāt. There is also a small square coin, dated 118x (No. 55), bearing on one side the figure of a peacock, which is locally stated to have been struck at Fāzilpūr, a small town in the Southern Dērajāt.

WEIGHTS AND STANDARDS.

The standard followed by the Durrānī gold and silver coinages seems to have been the same as the Indian system of the Mughals. Five gold pieces give an average of 170 grains each. The silver coin is a rupee, and may be considered as aiming at a standard of 180 grains. A Kābul rupee of Taimūr Shāh's actually reaches that weight, and a double rupee of Zamān Shāh's, though rubbed at the edges, still weighs 365 grains. This remark applies to the issues of the Kābul, Peshāwar, Qandahār, Herāt, Meshhed, Multān and Bhakhar mints through the reigns of Taimūr Shāh and Zamān Shāh, to the early issues of Shah Shujā' at Babāwalpur, Ahmadshāhī and Peshāwar, and Mahmūd Shāh's Herāt, Peshāwar, and Qandahār coinage. Twenty-six coins of this period show an average weight of 177 grains.

The Dērajāt coins throughout the series are subject to another and lower standard. Ahmad Shāh's coins at the beginning of the period weigh only 165 grains; and the heaviest in the series is one of Taimūr Shāh's of 172 grains. The average weight of 26 specimens ranging from A.D. 1770 to 1849 is 168 grains.

The Peshāwar coinage of Sultān Mahmūd and Ayyūb Shāh shows a still lower standard, 5 specimens averaging 161 grains. The Kashmīr rupees described average 167 grains. Mahmūd Shāh's Bhakhar rupee is only 150 grains, but this is an isolated specimen.

Leaving the Dērajūt and late Peshāwar and Kashmīr issues out of consideration, the standard was well maintained at all the mints till the Durrānī kingdom began to go to pieces. The Bārakzais degraded the coinage considerably. Their rupees struck immediately before and after the British occupation of 1839-91 (see Nos. 154 and 155) average only 140 grains, and Shāh Shujā's rupees struck during that occupation (Nos. 129 and 130) weigh only 143 and 144 grains. The rupees of Dost Muhammad, Sher 'Alī, Muhammad Ya'qūb, and the present Amir 'Abd-ur-rahmān average only 142 grains, though Sher 'Alī was careful to put the legend يک روپیہ *yak-rūpia* in the centre of his coins, and *nīm-rūpia* on the half rupees, which barely weigh 70 grains.

Silver coins averaging 85 grains have also been struck at Qandahār, of which No. 156 is a specimen. These still continue to be struck, and may perhaps be referred to the Persian type known as '*abbāsī*'. The nearest approach to the depreciated rupee is the coin occasionally struck under the Safavīs known as an "‘*abbāsī* of five shāhis" (Marsden, vol. ii. No. DLX.). Marsden's specimen weighed 134½ grains. Mr. E. E. Oliver gives others of 141, 138, 135, and 147;⁶ the average of these specimens being 139 grains, or nearly the same as the Bārakzai rupee.

⁶ The Safavī Dynasty of Persia. By E. E. Oliver. J.A.S. Bengal, vol. i. part i. 1887.

The style and execution of the coins vary considerably. Those struck at Kābul and in Kashmīr are the best. The double rupee of Zamān Shāh (No. 61, Pl. xiii. No. 8) and the double mohar of Nūr-ud-dīn (No. 135, Pl. xiii. No. 16) are fine and artistic coins, worthy of the palmy days of the Mughal Empire. The Bahāwalpur mohar and rupee of Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh (Nos. 112, 114) are clearly struck and handsome coins, with milled edges, and are apparently imitated from the Farrukhābād Sikka rupees of the East India Company. The double mohar of Mahmūd Shāh of the same mint (No. 79) is also a beautiful coin. The Peshāwar coins are also of a good style, as are some of those of Herāt and Qandahār, but the Dērajāt issues are poor, and show signs of having been struck in a backward and uncivilized province.

The coins described here are, when not otherwise specified, from my own cabinet. Some are in the Lahore Museum, and some from the cabinets of Mrs. Stoker, Mr. C. J. Rodgers, and Mr. W. Theobald, to whom I am much indebted for assistance received and for permission to describe their coins.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

PERSIAN COUPLETS ON THE COINS OF THE DURRĀNĪ
KINGS.

The Durrānī kings, following the example of the Mughal emperors of India and the kings of Persia, made use of Persian couplets or *bait*s on their coins, each king adopting a new one on his accession, and usually adhering to it throughout his coinage in gold and silver. The following are the couplets which have been observed on the Durrānī coins. Ahmad Shāh's well-known verse is added to complete the series.

1. Ahmad Shāh.

حکم شد از قادر ییچون باحمد بادشاه
سکه زن بر سیم وزر از اوج ماهی تا بمه

“The order proceeded from the Incomparable Creator to Ahmad the King.” Strike coins in silver and gold from the Ascension of Pisces up to the Moon.

Mr. Rodgers also gives the following couplet of Ahmad Shāh's from a Kashmīr rupee. It will be noticed that the Kashmīr coinage frequently shows a variation from that of the other mints.

سکه بر زر بزد بفضل الله
شاہ عالم بناد احمد شاہ

The world-protecting king Ahmad Shāh struck coins in gold by God's grace.

2. Taimūr Shāh, as Nizām, under his father.

بعالِم یافت سکه تیمور شاه نظام
بحکم خدا و رسول اناام

or

سکه تیمور شاد بعالِم نظام
یافت بحکم خدا و رسول اناام

The latter reading is given by Mr. Rodgers,⁷ with the following translation :

"The coin of Taimūr Shāh got current in the world by the order of God and the Prophet of the people."

There is here evidently a pun upon the word Nizām, which means both "Governor" and "currency."

3. Taimūr Shāh as king.

The usual couplet is

چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه
تا کند بر چهره نقش سکه تیمور شاه

The revolution (of the heavens) brings gold and silver from the sun and moon, that it may make on its face the impression of the coinage of Taimūr Shāh.

In the Kashmīr coinage this is varied by the substitution of the word نجی "may strike," for کند "may make." The Tārikh-i-Durrānī gives this version as the usual form of the couplet, but I have only found it on the Kashmīr coins.

⁷ Couplets of Kings after the time of Jahāngīr. By C. J. Rodgers, J. A. S. B. No. 1, 1888.

4. Zamān Shāh.

قرار یافت بحکم خدای هر دو جهان
راج سکه دولت بنام شاه زمان

The currency of the coin of the realm in the name of Shāh Zamān obtained permanency by the order of the Lord of both worlds.

The following line is added on some coins as a marginal inscription, and in others occurs by itself.

سکه زد بر سیم و زر بحکم الهی زمان شاه

He has struck coins in silver and gold by the order of the God of the age; or, Zamān has struck coins in silver and gold by God's order.

5. Mahmūd Shāh. The usual couplet is :

سکه زد بر زر بتوفیق اله
خسرو گیتی سلطان محمود شاه

The world-conquering Khusrau Mahmūd Shāh struck coins in gold through God's support.

On the coins struck by Mahmūd Shāh, under the title of Sultān Mahmūd, the following appears :

سکه دولت بر زر و سیم افزود
خسرو دیگر سلطان محمود

Sultān Mahmūd, the second Khusrau, increased the coinage of the realm in gold and silver.

6. Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh. The couplet usually found on his coins is :

سکه زد بر سیم وزر چون مهر و ماه
شاد دین پرور شجاع الملک شاه

The religious King, Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh, struck coins in silver and gold like the sun and moon.

The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Sultānī* (quoted by Mr. Rodgers in the paper mentioned above) gives the following as occurring on the coins of Shāh Shujā', but I have never met with it on any coin.

سکه زد بر سیم وزر روشنتر از خورشید و ماه
نور چشم در دران شاه شجاع الملک شاه

The light of the eyes, the pearl of pearls (or, of the Durrānis) King Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh, struck in gold and silver coins more brilliant than the sun and moon.

7. Qaisar Shāh. I have not seen enough coins to be certain of the reading of the couplet on Qaisar Shāh's coins, but it appears to read as follows :

سکه زد بر سیم وزر بنام قیصر شاه
راج در جهان از فضل الله

The coinage in gold and silver in the name of Qaisar Shāh (is) current in the world by God's grace.

8. Nūr-ud-din. The only silver coin of Nūr-ud-din's which I have seen gives the couplet in a very fragmentary

form, which I am unable to read. On his double gold mohar here described the following occur :

الدنيا جيفة و طالبها كلاب

The world is carrion, and the seekers thereafter are dogs.

And in the margins :

يا شاه نور الدين يا مخدوم جهان

Oh king Nūru'd-dīn, Oh (thou) served by the world.

9. Ayyūb Shāh. The couplet on the Peshāwar coins is:

درجہان روشن شدہ خورشید و ماء

از شعاع سکہ ایوب شاه

In the world the sun and moon were illuminated by the darting forth of the rays of the coinage of Ayyūb Shāh.

On the Kashmīr coins the following is found :

سکہ ایوب شاه بر زر و سیم

شد بحکم یادگار عظیم

The coinage of Ayyūb Shāh in gold and silver came into existence by the order of the Exalted Creator.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	A.D.	A.H.
Accession of Ahmad Shāh.....	1747	1160
Appointmont of Taimūr Shāh as Nizām of Lahore and Multān.....	1756	1170
Accession of Taimūr Shāh.....	1773	1187
Multān taken by Sikhs and retaken by Taimūr Shāh	1781	1196
Death of Taimūr Shāh and accession of Zamān Shāh	1793	1207
Zamān Shāh's first invasion of Punjāb	1795	1209
Āghā Muhammad Kājār seizes Persian Khorāsān	1796	1210
Murder of Pāinda Khān Bārakzai by Zamān Shāh	1799	1214
Zamān Shāh dethroned and blinded by Mahmūd Shāh	1800	1215
Mahmūd Shāh proclaimed King at Kābul, Shāh Shujā' at Peshāwar	1800	1215
Shāh Shujā' expelled from Peshāwar	1801	1216
Meshhed taken by Persians	1802	1217
Shāh Shujā' takes Kābul	1803	1218
Sindh invaded by Shāh Shujā'.....	1804	1219
Qandahār taken by Kāmrān, retaken by Shujā'..	1806	1221
Qaisar Shāh proclaimed King by Fath Khān	1807	1222
Defeat of Shāh Shujā' by Mahmūd at Nīmla....	1809	1224
Invasion of Kashmīr by Fath Khān, Muhammad 'Azīm becomes Governor	1812	1227
Fath Khān dofeated by Sikhs at Chach	1812	1227
Fath Khān joins Firoz Shāh at Herāt.....	1816	1232
Fath Khān murdered by Kāmrān, Multān taken by the Sikhs	1818	1233
Sultān 'Alī Shāh proclaimed King by Dost Mu- hammad	1819	1234
Ayyūb Shāh proclaimed by Muhammad 'Azīm Khān	1819	1234
Kashmīr conquered by the Sikhs.....	1819	1234
Dēra Ghāzi Khān conquered by the Sikhs	1819	1235

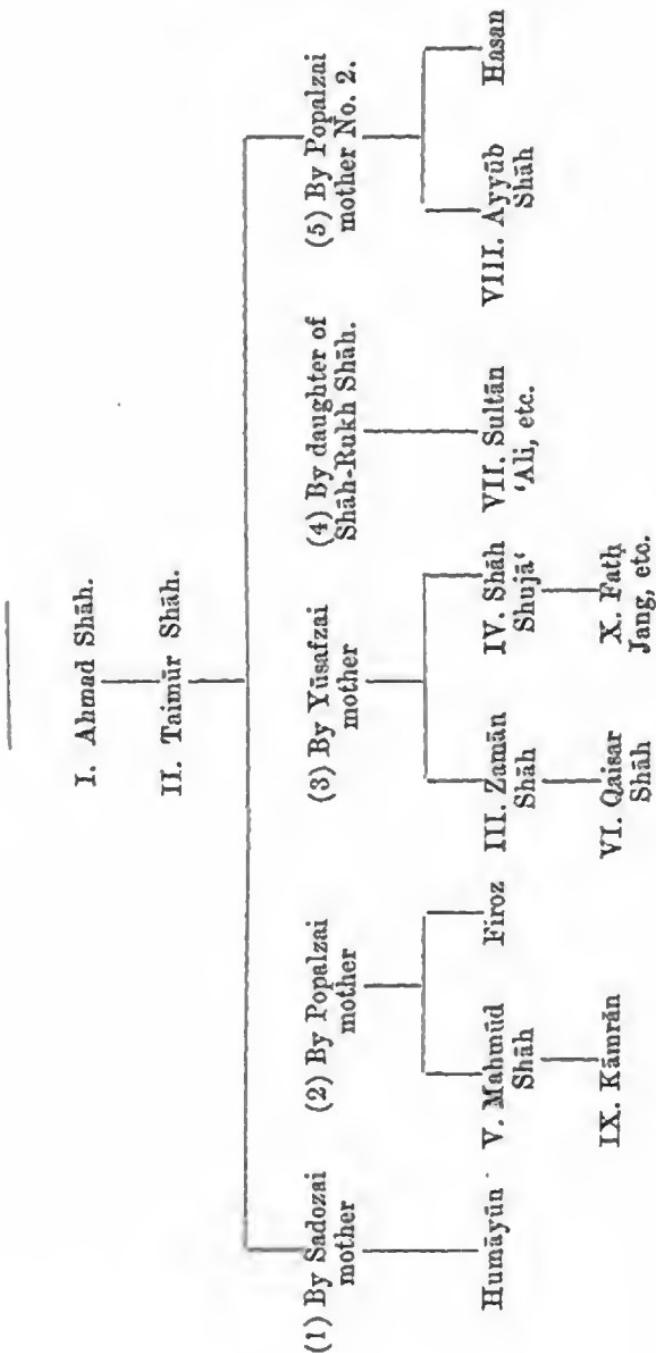
	A.D.	A.H.
Dēra Ismā'īl Khān conquered by the Sikhs	1821	1236
Mahmūd flees to Herāt	1821	1236
Battle of Naushehra	1822	1238
Dost Muhammad established at Kābul, Sultān Muhammad at Peshāwar	1822	1238
Death of Mahmūd Shāh	1829	1245
Dost Muhammad takes title of Amir	1834	1250
Peshāwar taken by the Sikhs	1834	1250
Shāh Shujā' unsuccessfully attacks Qandahār	1834	1250
Shāh Shujā' restored by British intervention	1839	1255
Shāh Shujā' killed. His sons expelled from Kābul. Kāmrān killed near Herāt by Yār Muhammad	1842	1258

KINGS OF THE DURRĀNĪ DYNASTY.

Date of Accession.

	A.H.	A.D.
I. Ahmād Shāh	1160	1747
II. Taimūr Shāh	1187	1773
III. Zamān Shāh	1207	1793
IV. Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh. First reign	1216	1801
V. Mahmūd Shāh. First reign	1216	1801
Shujā'-ul-mulk. Second reign	1218	1803
Mahmūd Shāh. Second reign	1224	1809
to	1245	1829
VI. Qaisar Shāh (in Kashmīr)	1221	1806
to	1223	1808
VII. Sultān 'Alī Shāh (at Kābul)	1233	1817
VIII. Ayyūb Shāh (Kashmīr and Peshāwar)	1233	1817
IX. Kāmrān (at Herāt)	1245	1829
to	1258	1842
Shujā'-ul-mulk Shāh (Third reign)	1255	1839
X. Fath Jang	1258	1842

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



CATALOGUE OF COINS.

I. TADMUR SUĀH.

(1) *As Nizām under Ahmad Shāh.*

No.	Mint and Date.	
		GOLD.
1	Multān 1176	Obv. بعالم یافت سکه تیمور شاد نظام بحکم خدا و رسول انام ستہ ضرب دارالامان ملتان Rev. A.R. .75. Wt. 170.
2	Multān 1177	Same, but date 1177.
3	Multān 1178	Same, but date 1178. A.R. .76. Wt. 170.
4	Multān 1184	Same, but date 1184, and ستہ ضرب SILVER.
5	Lahore 1170	Same, but date 1170. ضرب لاہور (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
6	Multān 1175	Same, but date 1175. ضرب دارالامان ملتان A.R. .9. Wt. 176.
		(2) As King.
		GOLD.
7	Kābul 1190	Obv. چرخ می آرد طلا و نقرہ از خورشید و ماه تائگند بر چہرہ نقش سکه تیمور شاد Rev. ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل سنه A.R. (Lahore Museum.)
8	Peshāwar 1192	Obv. As on 7. Date xxxr. Rev. جلوس، میمنت مانوس ضرب پشاور A.R. .8. Wt. 167.

No.	Mint and Date.	
9	Peshawar 1204	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۲۰۴. Rev. As on 8. Year ۱۵. A.R. .8. Wt. 169.
10	Dēra 1192	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۱۹۲. Rev. سنه ضرب ديره A.R. .75. Wt. 170.
11	Dēra 1207	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۲۰۷. Rev. Circular area surrounded by dots فرب ديره (Lotus-flower ornament). A.R. .76. Wt. 170. Pl. xiii. No. 1.
12	Herāt 1197	Obv. As on 7. Rev. ضرب جلوس ميمنت مانوس هرات A.R. .75. Wt. 168.
13	Herāt	The same. No date. A.R. .75. Wt. 168.
14	Ahmadshāhi	Obv. As on 7. Rev. ضرب اشرف البلاد احمد شاهي A.R. (Lahore Museum.)
15	Kashmīr 1200	Kashmīr. Date ۱۲۰۰. Year ۱۷. A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
16	Kashmīr 1203	Kashmīr. Date ۱۲۰۳. Year ۱۸. A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.) SILVER.
17	Kābul 1186	Obv. As on 7. Rev. Circular area surrounded by line and dots. سنہ احد ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل ۱۱۸۶ A.R. .85. Wt. 174.
18	Kābul 1187	The same. ۱۱۸۷. سنہ احد. A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
19	Kābul 1192	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۱۹۲. Rev. سنہ ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل A.R. .95. Wt. 180. Pl. xiii. No. 2.

No.	Mint and Date.	
20	Kābul 1190	Obv. As on 7. Rev. As on 19. Year F. <i>A.R. (Lahore Museum.)</i>
21	Herāt 1195	Obv. As on 7. Rev.
22	Herāt 1198	Obv. As on 7. Rev. Circular area surrounded by double line enclosing line of dots. ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس هرات ۱۱۹۸ <i>A.R. 8. Wt. 174.</i>
23	Herāt 1201	Herāt. Date ۱۲۰۱. <i>A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)</i>
24	Herāt 1207	Herāt. Date ۱۲۰۷. <i>A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)</i>
25	Herāt 1208	Obv. As on 7. Rev. ضرب دارالسلطنه هرات <i>A.R. 85. Wt. 178. Pl. xiii. No. 3.</i>
26	Peshāwar 1198	Obv. As on 7. Rev. ضرب اجلوس میمنت مانوس پشاور <i>A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)</i>
27	Atak 1197	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۱۹۷. Rev. Circular area surrounded by line and dots. سنہ جلوس میمنت مانوس اتك <i>A.R. 85. Wt. 176.</i>
28	Meshhed	Obv. سکه بر زر زد ز توفیق اللہ بنام سلطان جهان تیمور شاہ Rev. Centre, in a heart-shaped arabesque surrounded by dots. ضرب مشهد مقدس <i>A.R. 9. Wt. 176. Pl. xiii. No. 4.</i>
29	Dērajāt 1197	Obv. As on 7. Date ۲۲۹۴. Rev. ضرب دیرجات <i>A.R. 85. Wt. 171. Pl. xiii. No. 5.</i>

No.	Mint and Date.	
30	Dērajāt 1198	The same. Date ۲۲۹۸. Year ۱۷. AR. ·8. Wt. 168·5.
31	Dērajāt 1199	The same. Date ۱۱۹۹. Year ۱۷. AR. ·8. Wt. 170.
32	Dēra 1198	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۱۹۸. Rev. ضرب دیره سنہ ۱۷. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
33	Ahmadshāhī 1192	Obv. As on 7. Date ۱۱۹۲. Rev. ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس اشرف البلاد احمدشاهی AR. ·8. Wt. 171.
34	Ahmadshāhī	The same. No date. AR. ·8. Wt. 175.
35	Ahmadshāhī	Obv. As on 7. No date. Rev. ضرب اشرف البلاد احمدشاهی (enclosed in double circle). AR. ·85. Wt. 176.
36	Ahmadshāhī 1205	The same. Date ۱۲۰۵. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
37	Ahmadshāhī 1206	The same. Date ۱۲۰۶. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
38	Bhakhar 1189	Obv. As on 7, with flower-ornament. Rev. Area surrounded by circular line and dots. ۱۱۸۹ ضرب بہکھر
39	Bhakhar 1196	Obv. Margin: چرخ می آرد طلا و نقرہ از خورشید و ماد تاکند بر چهرہ نقش سکه Centre, in sixfoil Rev. In sixfoil: ضرب بہکھر جلوس میمنت مانوس ۱۱۹۶ Tīmūr shāh AR. ·85. Wt. 176. Pl. xiii. No. 6.
40	Bhakhar 1198	Date ۱۱۹۸. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)

No.	Mint and Date.	
41	Bhakhar 1199	Date 1199. Year ۵. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
42	Kashmīr 1201	Obv. چرخ می آرد طلا و نقرہ از خورشید و ماه تا کند بر چهرہ نقش سکه تیمور شاہ Rev. In an arabesque: ضرب کشمیر سنہ جلوس میمنت مانوس AR. ۹. Wt. 168.
43	Kashmīr 1195	The same. Date 1195. Year ۶. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
44	Kashmīr 1197	The same. Date 1195. Year ۷. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
45	Kashmīr 1202	The same. Date 1202. Year ۱۰. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
46	Kashmīr 1203	The same. Date 1202. Year ۱۱. AR. (Lahore Museum.)
47	Kashmīr 1208	The same. Date 1208. Year ۱۲. AR. ۹5. Wt. 166. Pl. xiii. No. 7.
48	Multān 1204	Obv. As on 7. Date 1204. Rev. ضرب دارالامان ملتان سنہ AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
49	Multān 1205	The same. Date 1205. Year ۱۳. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
		COPPER.
50	Kashmīr 1201	Obv. فلوس تیمور شاہ درانی ۱۲۰۱ Rev. سنہ ضرب کشمیر AE. ۹. Wt. 272.
51	Dēra 1192	Obv. In an arabesque: سکہ تیمور شاہ . . . فتح Rev. ضرب فلوس دیرہ AE. ۸5.

No.	Mint and Date.	
52	Dēra	The same. No date. Æ. ·8.
53	Dēra (Fath Khān) 1203	Obv. An animal, probably intended for a lion, with the date ۱۲۰۳ reversed over its back, thus ۳۰۱. Rev. A monogram or tughra probably meant for دیرا فتح. Æ. ·7.
54	Dēra (Fath Khān) 1204	Obv. تیمور بادشاہ ۱۲۰۴ Rev. As on 53. Year ۱۹. Æ. ·75.
55	Fāzilpur (?) 118x	Obv. The figure of a peacock. Rev. فلوس ۱۱۸ فتح Æ. (square). ·7.
56	Dērajāt 1194	Obv. ۱۱۹۴ سه..... Rev. جات
57	Multān 1204	Obv. فلوس تیمور شاہ بادشاہ در درانی . Rev. جلوس مبارک ضرب ملتان Æ. ·8.
58	Multān 1205	Obv. تیمور شاہ بادشاہ ۱۲۰۵ Rev. جلوس ۱۹ ضرب ملتان Æ. ·8.
II. ZAMĀN SHĀH.		
GOLD.		
59	Kābul 1213	Obv. قرار یافت بحکم خدای هردو جهان رواج سکه دولت بنام شاه زمان Rev. ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل سنه A. (Lahore Museum.)

No.	Mint and Date.	
60	Ahmadshāhī 1215	Obv. As on 59. Rev. Centre: صرب اشرف البلاد احمدشاه Margin illegible; probably the line given in the Obv. Margin No. 59. A.R. .75. Wt. 168. (Marsdon's Numismata Orientalia, vol. ii. p. lvii. No. MCCXXVIII.)
		SILVER.
61	Kābul 1212	Obv. Centre: قرار یافت بحکم خدای هردو جهان رواج سکه دولت بنام شاه زمان Margin: سکه رو بر سیم وزیر بحکم الہی زمان Rev. ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل سنہ A.R. 1·1. Wt. 356. Pl. xiii. No. 8.
62	Kābul 1211	The same. Date ۱۲۱۱. Year ۵. A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers).
63	Ahmadshāhī 1214	Obv. As on 61. Obv. Margin divided into sections. Rev. ضرب اشرف البلاد احمدشاه A.R. 1·15. Wt. 348. Pl. xiii. No. 9.
64	Ahmadshāhī 1209	Obv. As on 59. Rev. ضرب اشرف البلاد احمدشاه A.R. .85. Wt. 178.
65	Peshāwar 1207	Obv. As on 59. Date xxv. Rev. جلوس سنہ ضرب پشارو A.R. .9. Wt. 177.
66	Peshāwar 1210	Peshāwar. Date ۱۲۰۷. Year ۵. A.R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)

No.	Mint and Date.	
67	Peshawar 1215	Obv. Area and margin, as on 61. Date ١٢١٥ ضرب پشاور جلوس میمنت مانوس ^ AR. .95. Wt. 177.
68	Peshawar 1215	Obv. ١٢١٥ سکه زد بر سیم وزیر حکم الهی زمان Rev. As on 67. Imperfect. AR. .95. Wt. 177.
69	Bhakhar 1216	Obv. As on 59. Rev. ضرب بہکھر جلوس میمنت مانوس ١٢١٦ AR. .85. Wt. 175.
70	Herāt 1212	Obv. زمان شاہ باد شاہ Rev. سکه زد بر سیم وزیر حکم الهی زمان ضرب دار السلطنه هرات ١٢١٢ AR. (Mrs. Stoker.)
71	Dērajāt 1210	Obv. As on 59. Rev. ضرب دیر ہو جات سنہ AR. .85. Wt. 169.
72	Dērajāt 1212	The same. Date ١٢١٢. Year ١. AR. .85. Wt. 166.5.
73	Dērajāt 1213	The same. Year ٢. AR. .85. Wt. 169.5.
74	Dērajāt 1215	The same. Year ٣. AR. .85. Wt. 169. Pl. xiii. No. 10.
75	Kashmīr 1209	Obv. As on 59. Rev. ضرب دار السلطنه کشمیر ١٢٠٩ AR. (Lahore Museum.)
		COPPER.
76	Dēra 1209	Obv. زمان شاہ در درانی ١٢٠٩ Rev. ضرب دیرہ سنہ AE. .8.
77	Multān 1214	Obv. As on 76. Date ١٢١٤. Rev. ضرب فلوس ملتان ^ AE. .9.

No.	Mint and Date.	
78	Multān 1215	The same. Date 1210. Æ. ·9.
III. MAHMŪD SHĀH.		
(a) <i>With the title Mahmūd Shah.</i>		
		GOLD.
79	Bahāwalpur 1217	Obv. سکه زد بر زر بتوفیق الله خسرو گیمی سلطان محمد شاه ۱۲۱۷ Rev. سنہ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب بیاولپور <i>A.V. 1·1. Wt. 344. Pl. xiii. No. 11. (Two other specimens examined show the date 1217 on the Obverse, but the years 11 and 12 on the reverse.)</i>
		(b) <i>With the title Sultan Mahmūd.</i>
80	Kābul 1224	Obv. سکه دولت بر زر و سیم افزود خسرو دیگر سلطان محمد ۱۲۲۴ Rev. سنہ ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل <i>A.V. ·9. Wt. 169.</i>
		SILVER.
(a) <i>With the title Mahmūd Shah.</i>		
81	Peshāwar 1217	Obv. As on 79. Date 1217. Rev. سنہ ضرب پشاور
82	Ahmadshāhī	Obv. As on 79. No date. Rev. ضرب اشرف البلاد احمدشاهی <i>A.R. ·85. Wt. 175.</i>

No.	Mint and Date.	
83	Ahmadshāhī 1224	The same. Date ۱۷۱۶. AR. (Lahore Museum.)
84	Herāt 1216	Obv. As on 79. Rev. ضرب دارالسلطنه هرات AR. '65. Wt. 176.
85	Herāt 1218	The same. Date ۱۷۱۸. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
86	Herāt 1220	The same. Date ۱۷۱۹. AR. '75. Wt. 178.
87	Herāt 1221	The same. Date ۱۷۲۰. AR. '75. Wt. 178.
88	Herāt 1222	The same. Date ۱۷۲۱. AR. '75. Wt. 178.
89	Herāt 1223	The same. Date ۱۷۲۲. AR. '75. Wt. 178.
90	Herāt 1225	The same. Date ۱۷۲۴. AR. '65. Wt. 174.
91	Herāt	The same. No date. AR. '7. Wt. 172.
92	Dērajāt 1218	Obv. As on 79. Rev. سنه ضرب ديره جات AR. '75. Wt. 170.
93	Dērajāt 1216	The same. Date ۱۷۲۵. AR. '75. Wt. 170.
94	Dērajāt 1224	The same. Date ۱۷۲۶. Year ۲۱. A new date of accession 1224, referring to Mahmūd Shāh's second reign. See also the coins with the title Sultān Mahmūd. AR. '75. Wt. 169.
95	Dērajāt 1226	The same. Date ۱۷۲۷. AR. '75. Wt. 169.
96	Dērajāt 1227	The same. Date ۱۷۲۸ (?) AR. '75. Wt. 170. Pl. xiii. No. 12.
97	Dērajāt 1241	The same. Date ۱۷۴۱. Cross of flower ornaments on Obverse. AR. '8. Wt. 168.

No.	Mint and Date.	
98	Dērajāt 1244	The same. Date 1777. AR. .8. Wt. 167.
99	Dērajāt 1246	The same. Date 1781. AR. .75. Wt. 166.
100	Dērajāt 1250	The same. Date 1785. AR. .75. Wt. 166. (These four rupees were struck under Sikh influence. On the Obv. of No. 100 there is an ornament resembling the ūrist of Mora, as found on the Sikh coins. The paper on the Coins of the Sikhs by C. J. Rodgers, J.A.S.B. 1881, pl. v. No. 16.)
101	Kashmīr 1218	Obv. As on 79. Date 1718. Rev. Centre in a small arabesque (as in the Meshhed mint). سنہ ضرب کشمیر AR. .8. Wt. 166.
102	Kashmīr 1222 (?)	Obv. As on 79. Rev. سنہ ضرب خطہ کشمیر AR. (Mrs. Stoker.)
103	Bhakhar	Obv. Margin, illegible. Centre مُحَمَّد شاہ Rev. ضرب بہکھر جلوس میمنت مانوس AR. .8. Wt. 151.
(b) <i>With the title Sultān Mahmūd.</i>		
104	Peshāwar 1233	Obv. Margin, in four compartments. سکہ دولت ا بر زر و سیم ا افزو د ا خسرو دیگرا Centre, in quatrefoil. سلطان مُحَمَّد ۱۲۳۳
		Rev. Octagonal area, surrounded by arrow-head pattern.
105	Peshāwar 1227	سنہ جلوس ضرب پشاور AR. .9. Wt. 164. Pl. xiii. No. 13. The same. Date 1777. Year 5. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)

No.	Mint and Date.	
106	Peshāwar 1232	The same. Date ۱۲۳۲. Year ^. R. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
COPPER.		
107	Peshāwar 1221	Obv. محمود شاه بادشاہ Rev. ضرب فلوس پشاور
108	Multān 1230	Obv. ۱۲۳۰. محمود شاد بادشاہ در درانی Rev. ضرب فلوس ملتان
109	Multān 1231	The same. Date ۱۲۳۱.
110	Multān 1236	The same. Date ۱۲۳۶.
111	Multān 1244	The same. Date ۱۲۴۴. (The last two were struck under Sikh rule.)
IV. SHUJĀ'-UL-MULK SHĀH.		
[Abbreviated form, Shāh Shujā'.]		
GOLD.		
112	Bahāwalpur 1218	Obv. سکه زد بر سیم وزر چون مہرو ماد شاد دین پرورہ شجاع الملک شاہ ۱۲۱۸ Rev. سنہ احمد جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب بھاولپور
113	Multān 1224	N. .99. Wt. 172. Pl. xiii. No. 14. Obv. As on 112. Date ۱۲۲۴. Rev. ضرب دار الامان ملتان ^ N. .7. Wt. 171.

No.	Mint and Date.	
124	Dērajät 1225	The same. ١٢٢٥. Year ٩. AR. .75. Wt. 169.
125	Kashmīr 1218	With name Shāh Shujā'. Date ١٢١٨ AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
126	Kashmīr 1220	With name Shujā'ul-mulk Shāh. Date ١٢٢٠ AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
127	Kashmīr 1222	The same. Date ١٢٢٢. AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
128	Kashmīr 1223	The same. Date ١٢٢٣. AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
129	Kābul 1255	Obv. سلطان شجاع الملک شاه ١٢٥٥ Rev. In a "mehrābi" area. ضرب دارالسلطنه کابل AR. .9 Wt. 144. Pl. xiii. No. 15.
130	Kābul 125x	The same. Date ١٢٥x. AR. .8. Wt. 144.
131	Kābul	Obv. شاه شجاع در دران Rev. As on 129. AR. (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)
COPPER.		
132	Bhakhar.	Obv. Illegible, except the word شجاع الملک Counterstruck Rev. ضرب به کهر AE. 1.0.

V. QAISAR SHĀH.

SILVER.

133	Kashmīr 1223	Obv. سکه زد بر سیم وزر بنام تیصر شاد راصح در جهان از فضل الله ١٢٢٣ Rev. ضرب خطه کشمیر سنه AR. (Mrs. Stoker.)
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No.	Mint and Date.		
134	Kashmīr 1221	The same. Date ۱۲۲۱. <i>A.R.</i> (Mr. W. Theobald.)	
VI. NŪR-UD-DĪN.			
GOLD.			
135	Kashmīr 1225	Obv. Centre, in square: ضرب خطة کشمیر سنہ Margin, in four segments: یاشاد نور الدین ایا مخدوم اچھان الدنيا حیفة و طالبیا کلاب ۱۲۲۵ Rev. ۱۲۲۵ A.D. Wt. 338. Pl. xiii. No. 16. Another double mohar of different types and treatment to the above. Date ۱۲۲۶. Year 3. <i>A.R.</i> (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)	
SILVER.			
137	Kashmīr 1223	Obv. راج از مخدوم ... الدین شاد ۱۲۲۳ Rev. ضرب خطة کشمیر سنہ احد <i>A.R.</i> (Mrs. Stoker.)	
138	Kashmīr 1224	The same. Date ۱۲۲۴. Year احد. <i>A.R.</i> (Mr. C. J. Rodgers.)	
VII. MUHAMMAD SHĀH.			
SILVER.			
139	Kashmīr	Rupees of the Kashmīr mint, dated ۱۲۲۵,	
142	1227	۱۲۲۸, ۱۲۳۰, ۱۲۳۱. <i>A.R.</i> (Mr. W. Theobald.)	
	1228		
	1230		
	1232		

No.	Mint and Date.	
VIII. AYYŪB SHĀH.		
SILVER.		
143	Peshāwar 1234	Obv. درجهان روشن شده خورشید و ماه ۱۲۳۴ از شعاع سکه ایوب شاه Rev. سنه جلوس ضرب پشاور AR. .95. Wt. 164. Pl. xiii. No. 17.
144	Peshāwar 1240	The same. Year ^ AR. .9. Wt. 163.
145	Peshāwar 1241	The same. Date ۱۲۴۱. AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
146	Peshāwar 1244	The same. Year ۱۲۴۴. AR. .95. Wt. 163.
147	Peshāwar 1248	The same. Year ۱۲۴۸. AR. (Lahore Museum.)
148	Kashmīr 1233 (?)	Obv. سکه ایوب شاه بزر و سیم شد بحکم یادگار عظیم Rev. ضرب خطه کشمیر سنه احد ۱۲۳۳ AR. .9. Wt. 168.
149	Kashmīr 1234	The same. Date ۱۲۳۴. AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
150	Kashmīr 1235	The same. Date ۱۲۳۵. AR. (Mr. W. Theobald.)
COPPER.		
151	Peshāwar 1234	Obv. ایوب شاه بادشاه غازی Rev. ضرب فلوس پشاور AE. .9.
152	Kashmīr 123x	Obv. سکه مبارک ایوب شاه بادشاه غازی Rev. ضرب فلوس کشمیر AE. .85.

No.	Mint and Date.	
IX. ALTĀF JANG.		
SILVER.		
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M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Trois royaumes de l'Asie Mineure : Cappadoce, Bithynie, Pont.
Par Théodore Reinach. Paris, 1888.

The three valuable monographs here collected into a single, handsome volume, illustrated by 12 plates, have already been separately noticed in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1886, p. 240; 1887, pp. 174, 352, 354; and 1888, pp. 158, 288). On the present occasion we have, therefore, only to congratulate the author on the completion of his work, which will be indispensable, not only to numismatists, but to students of history, who, as the writer justly remarks in his preface, usually make far too little use of numismatic documents as thoroughly trustworthy data for the reconstruction of obscure periods of history. We cannot but hope that this interesting volume, which contains fully as much historical as numismatic matter, will contribute in no small degree to break down the barrier which unfortunately still exists between the Science of History and her handmaid Numismatics.

B. V. HEAD.

THE COINS AND TOKENS OF THE POSSESSIONS AND COLONIES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By James Atkins. 1 vol. 8vo.— This book, published by Mr. Quaritch, uniform with those of Hawkins and Kenyon on the silver and gold coinage of England, supplies, as it claims to do, a want long felt by collectors, and gives a very good view of the coins and tokens of all the British possessions abroad.

The work is divided into sections geographically, with short accounts of the British possessions in and money struck for each country, followed by lists of the coins and tokens arranged according to their metal and their dates. The illustrations are numerous and distributed in the letter-press, and the descriptions are concise and generally plain and good.

A very full list is given of the Anglo-Hanoverian coinage, which occupies nearly one hundred pages. In the Asiatic section of one hundred pages, a fairly correct sketch is given of that difficult subject, the British Indian coinage, with some accounts of the Hindu and Musalman systems adopted in the

early times of it. It would have been useful to have added to the tables on p. 181 the relative value of the coins of the two systems, viz. : $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees=1 pagoda; 12 fanam=1 rupee; 75 kás=14 paisá. The *fals*, too, should be given as a division of the Musalman rupee instead of the Hindu *fanam*, it being the same coin as was afterwards called a *paisá*, and at one time a *pic Sikka*. A transcript of the Persian legend on the Madras copper coins of 1803 bearing on this, viz. that 20 kas make 4 fals, is omitted in the notice of them (No. 181 Madras). The list of the coins in this section is a good one, but sadly marred by numerous errors in the copying of the Oriental inscriptions and the translations of them; for example, Nos. 49, 50, 52, and 54 of Bengal; ضرب کلتہ on the first of these is read ^{کت} ضرب کلتہ, of which the translation is fortunately not attempted, and on the last بادشاہ غاری is read مار شاہ عای and translated "The Emperor Shah Aulum." Even the Hindustani يك روپیه⁸⁰ familiar to Indians, on the rupees of her Majesty, is read يكب.

دک No mention is made of *ashrafi*, which was a name for the gold coin as well as *mohur*, and is inscribed on some of them, notably on the Lion and Palm-tree gold coin (No. 9 India, general). Of course there are many difficulties in reading Oriental coins even to those familiar with the written languages, owing to the proper positions of words and letters being altered to suit the taste of the designer for appearances, and to the errors made by a die-cutter who could not read what he was trying to copy. But there are persons who can read them, and it is a pity this part of the work was not revised by such an one. Exception has been taken to the relative rareness of coins and tokens not being given in the work, but probably that is much better entirely left out of a book of this kind, for it is a question on which there must be several opinions; for instance, some may not see why the Tasmanian Saw-mill token (page 337) should be mentioned as a very rare piece, whilst nothing is said of the rarity of some of the Hog money (page 315).

The sections on American and Australasian coins and tokens are very good, and full lists are given. The work is well got up and has a fair index.

O. CODRINGTON.

MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF COINS AT DENBY, NEAR BARNSLEY, YORKSHIRE.—On Oct. 2nd, 1888, a small find of English coins was made at Denby, by a farmer named James Slater. The specimens consisted of 9 Groats of Mary I.; 1 shilling and 10 sixpences of Elizabeth; 4 shillings and 2 sixpences of James I., and 10 other coins not identified. Most of the coins were in bad preservation, and many of them fell to pieces when being cleaned by the finder. The coins were found just below the surface of the earth in the bottom of a hedge. There was no trace of any jar or other receptacle that might have enclosed them. It will be remembered that there was also a find at Denby last year, consisting of fifty-one silver coins of Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. (See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1887, p. 340.)

W. WROTH.

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END OF VOL. VIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1887—1888.

OCTOBER 20, 1887.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

Thomas W. Minton, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the
table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 21—42, 1887.
From the Publishers.
2. Sitzungsberichte der k. Preussischen Akademie der
Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Parts I—XVII, and XIX—XXXIX.
1887. From the Academy.
3. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Bd. II.
Heft I—III. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries,
Copenhagen.
4. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la
Morinie. Livraison 142. From the Society
5. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Parts VI—VII, 1887.
From the Institute.
6. Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et
d'Archéologie. May—August, 1887. From the Society.
7. Revue Belge de Numismatique. Parts III—IV, 1887.
From the Society.

8. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Parts I—II, 1887. From the Society.
9. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xi. No. 3. From the Society.
10. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 47—50, 1887. From the Society.
11. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. XV. Part I. From the Editor.
12. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland. Vol. viii. Nos. 70—72. From the Association.
13. Catalogue of Roman Coins in the Public Museum, Moscow. Part II. From the Museum.
14. Archaeologia Aeliana. Part XXXIII. From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. From the Society.
15. The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. viii. No. 1. Text and Plates. From the Hellenic Society.
16. Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India. Part I. By Captain R. H. C. Tufnell. From the Author.
17. Semerset Trade-tokens of the seventeenth century, and from 1787—1817. By W. Bidgee. From the Author.
18. Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1886—7. From the Editor.
19. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Part LXXXIII. From the Society.
20. Kengl. Vitterhets Histerie och Antiquitets Academions Menadsblad, 1878—1885. From the Academy.
21. Zur Münzkunde Grossgriechenlands, Siciliens, Kretas, &c. By Dr. F. Imheef-Blumer. From the Author.
22. Monnaies Lyciennes. By M. J. P. Six. From the Author.
23. Anniversary Address to the Society of Antiquaries, 1887. From the President.
24. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Peloponnesus, by P. Gardner, and Crete, &c., by W. Wroth. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

25. Catalogue of English Coins. Anglo-Saxon Series. Vol.i.
By C. F. Keary. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited twenty-eight varieties of gold coins of James I. not recorded in Kenyon's recent work on the *Gold Coins of England*.

Mr. Deakin exhibited a base shilling of James I., counter-marked with a castle and the letter K, possibly an obsidional piece of Kilkenny, 1650—4, of which city the arms are a castle.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited a set of Newark money, viz., a half-crown and shilling of 1645, and a ninepence and sixpence of 1646.

Mr. Copp exhibited two patterns of George IV with obverses by Pistrueci. These pieces were probably intended for half-crowns, though larger in diameter than usual.

The Rev. W. G. Searle exhibited a rare and unpublished copper denarius of Constantine the Great, struck in London shortly before he was proclaimed emperor, 25th of July, A.D. 306: *Ov.*, FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C.; *rev.*, VIRTVS AVGG. ET CAESS. NN.; *exergue*, P.L.N. Type, emperor on horseback spearing prostrate foe.

Professor P. Gardner read a paper on some unpublished coins of Bactria and India, the most remarkable of which was a decadrachm, having on the obverse a Greek horseman pursuing an elephant on whose back are two apparently Scythian warriors, and on the reverse a standing figure of Alexander the Great holding the thunderbolt of Zeus. This important coin, which was found two or three years ago at Khullum, in Bokhara, has been purchased by Mr. A. W. Franks, and generously presented by him to the Department of Coins in the British Museum.

Mr. A. J. Evans read a paper "On a Coin of a Second Carausius, Cœsar in Britain in the Fifth Century." (This paper is printed in vol. vii, p. 191.)

NOVEMBER 17, 1887.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

J. Harris Gibson, Esq., and Major H. Trotter, C.B., were
elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the
table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 43—46. 1887.
From the Publishers.
2. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. XV. Parts II., III. From
the Editor.
3. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique.
Tomes 9—13, and Annuaires 1886—7. From the Academy.
4. Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie
Royale des Sciences, &c., de Belgique, (i) Lettres, (ii) Sciences.
From the Academy.
5. Bulletin historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la
Morinie. 148^{me} livraison. From the Society.
6. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
No. 51. From the Society.
7. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. viii, Part VIII.
From the Institute.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. Symonds, a penny of Edward III struck at Durham, with mint-mark crown on obverse instead of the usual cross patée; also a penny of Henry VIII, "Cantor" second coinage, with W—A at sides of shield, and mint-mark T on obverse only.

Mr. L. A. Laurence exhibited a gold crown of Henry VIII, with the reverse inscription on both sides.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited specimens of rare or unpublished sixpences of the Commonwealth, dated 1657 and 1659.

Mr. Krumbholz exhibited a rare half-crown of Charles II, 1681, with elephant and castle under bust.

Mr. Durlacher exhibited a half-guinea of George II, 1780, young head, with E.I.C. under bust, no gold coins having been previously known of that year.

Mr. F. W. Pixley exhibited a complete set of the Jubilee coinage.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther read a paper "On Groats of Henry VII with the arched crown, second issue." (See vol. vii, p. 816.)

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper, by Prof. P. Gardner, "On the Exchange Value of Cyzicene Staters," in which the writer maintained that the Cyzicene and the Daric were of the same value, and passed at Athens as equivalent to 28 Attic drachms, in the Persian dominions to 25, and at Panticapœum to 22. (See vol. vii, p. 185.)

Mr. Head fully agreed with Prof. Gardner's conclusions, and stated that he hoped to be able to lay before the Society at an early date accurate specific gravities of a series of early electrum coins, together with the per-centages of gold and silver contained in each specimen.

DECEMBER 15, 1887.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

M. W. Cockayne, Esq., J. L. Henderson, Esq., and E. F. Weber, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 47—50. 1887.
From the Publishers.

2. Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academien's
Monadsblad. Stockholm, 1886. From the Academy.

3. *Histoire Monétaire de Genève, 1535—1792.* By E. Demole.
From E. Prevost, Esq.

4. *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.*
From the Society.

5. *Journal of the Institute of Bankers.* Vol. viii, Part IX.
From the Institute.

6. *Biographie historique de l'arrondissement de St. Omer.*
By B. Dard. From the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie.

7. *De Munten der frankische en deutsch nederlandische Vorsten.* By P. O. Van der Chijs. From Dr. O. Codrington.

Mr. B. V. Head exhibited an electrotype of a unique coin of the town of Maronea in Thrace, which has recently been acquired by the British Museum. It is a tetradrachm of light Attic weight, having on the obverse a very fine head of the youthful Dionysus wearing an ivy wreath. The style of the work resembles that of some of the beautiful heads of Apollo on the coins of Chalcidice. The reverse, instead of the usual vine with four or more bunches of grapes, has a single vine-branch with a large bunch of grapes occupying the whole field of the coin. Mr. Head fixed the date of the coin at about B.C. 400.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited a thaler of Matthew Schiner, Bishop of Sitten (Sion), Valais, struck in A.D. 1501, having on the obverse St. Theodolus in episcopal robes, and by his side Satan carrying the bell, in allusion to the well-known local tradition.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a noble and a quarter-noble of Edward III's second coinage, 1344, each with the letter L (for London) in the centre of the reverse.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a set of patterns, proofs, and currency of the Küchler copper coinages for Great Britain and Ireland struck in the years 1799, 1805, 1806, and 1807.

Mr. Webster read an account of an ingenious trick by which American dollars, probably of 1801, have been, by some forger, converted into dollars of 1804 (the rare date), the figure 1 having been effaced, and a new figure 4 laid on with silver

solder in such a perfect manner that the junction was invisible. (See vol. vii, p. 340.)

Mr. Evans read a paper on an important and extensive hoard of Roman silver coins recently discovered at East Harptree, in Somersetshire. The hoard covered the period between the reigns of Constantine the Great and Gratian. It consisted of 1,476 specimens, for the most part in fine condition, and included some rarities. (See vol. viii, p. 22.)

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Kettlewell, the owner of the coins, for his kindness in placing the hoard in Mr. Evans's hands for examination.

JANUARY 19, 1888.

R. S. POOLE, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Captain A. H. Warren, G. J. Crosbie-Dawson, Esq., the Rev. F. Binley-Dickinson, and Messrs. J. P. Lambros and J. H. Pinches, were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1887.
Part III. From the Society.
2. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 51, 52, 1887,
and Nos. 1, 2, 1888. From the Publishers.
3. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 1^{re} livraison, 1888.
From the Society.
4. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
No. 58. From the Society.
5. Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et
d'Archéologie, Nov., Dec., 1887. From the Society.
6. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. ix, Part I.
From the Institute.

7. *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande.* Heft 84. From the Society.

8. Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum. By R. S. Poole, LL.D. From the Trustees of the British Museum

9. Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Attica—Megaris—Aegina. By B. V. Head, D.C.L., Ph.D. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

10. Bronze medal commemorating the Colonial and Indian reception at the Guildhall, 25th June, 1886. From the Corporation of the City of London.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited a penny of Cnut (Hildebrand, type G; Hawkins, 218), a variety without the sceptre, struck at York; also a penny of Edward the Confessor (Hildebrand, G, variety *a*), a combination type with obverse of Hawkins's 228 and reverse of 222, struck by the moneyer Thorr at York.

Mr. Hall exhibited a gold coin of the Emperor Postumus, A.D. 258—267, of rude style, said to have been found at Chester, with the inscription ROMAE AETERNAE (Cohen, vol. vi. 327, new edition), weight 104 grains; also a gold coin of Carinus with the inscription VICTORIA AVG, weight 69 grains.

Mr. Deakin exhibited specimens of the so-called "Rebel" crown and half-crown, supposed to have been coined by the rebel chiefs in imitation of the Ormond pieces of the same values current by proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1648; also a bronze oval medal, representing Paris and Helen of Troy, with a blundered Latin inscription, probably a seventeenth or eighteenth century cast, found in Sherwood Forest.

Mr. Webster exhibited a rare small brass coin of the Emperor Maximian, with, on the reverse, Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides.

Mr. A. E. Copp exhibited a very beautifully executed MS.

work on English coins, dedicated to Sir George Duckett, and including a catalogue of his coins.

Admiral T. Spratt communicated a paper on three small gold coins procured by him in Crete, near the site of the Poly-rhenium. (See vol. vii, p. 309.)

Mr. C. Roach Smith sent an account of a discovery of Roman coins at Springhead, near Gravesend. (See vol. vii, p. 312.)

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper on electrum coins recently acquired by the British Museum, and on the composition of early electrum coins calculated from their specific gravities. (See vol. vii, p. 277.)

FEBRUARY 16, 1888.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

G. M. Arnold, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 3—6, 1888.
From the Publishers.
2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
Nos. 54, 55. From the Society.
3. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.
Vol. xi. No. 4. From the Society.
4. Les Monnaies de Charlemagne. By M. Carexhe. From
C. Roach Smith, Esq.
5. Etudes sur les Monnaies de Boulogne et Calais. By L.
Deschamps de Pas. From C. R. Smith, Esq.
6. On the Roman Walls of Chester. By C. R. Smith, Esq.
From the Author.
7. Report on the Marine Fauna of Ráméswararu and the
Neighbouring Islands. By Edgar Thurstion. From the Author.

8. Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville. 3rd series, vol. iv. From the Society.

9. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Vol. ix. From the Society.

10. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring 1886. Kunst og Haandverk for Norges Fortid. Vol. vii. From the Musée d'Archéologie de Christiania.

11. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. ix. Part II. From the Institute.

12. Two bronze medals of William Joseph Taylor, medallist, one representing him as a young man, the other as an old man. On the reverse is a modeller at work. From W. Taylor, Esq.

The following exhibitions were made :—

Mr. Evans, a rare aureus of Licinius II, with full-faced bust; Mr. H. Montagu, a series of proofs and patterns in gold and silver of Charles I; the Rev. G. F. Crowther, some unpublished groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry VII; Dr. Codrington, two rare coins of the Moghuls of Persia, viz., a deenar of Arghun and a dirhem of Arpa, the latter struck at Tebreez, A.H. 736; Mr. J. Clark, proofs in copper of the double sovereign and half-crown of 1824; Mr. Durlacher, a bronze medal of the Catch Club by Thomas Pingo; and Mr. A. E. Copp, a manuscript volume on English coins and medals dated 1828, being a catalogue of the coins in the collection of Sir George Duckett; it was compiled by W. Long.

Mr. S. Smith, jun., communicated a paper on a penny which he attributed to Magnus the Good, King of Denmark, but having on the reverse the inscription LEFVINE . ON . LINCO . (Lincoln), and raised the question whether the Anglo-Saxon coins were always struck at the towns named on them. This paper is printed in vol. viii. p. 188.

Mr. T. W. Greene communicated a paper on German medalists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (See vol. viii, p. 145.)

MARCH 15, 1888.

R. S. Poole, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 7—11, 1888. From the Publishers.
2. Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1887. From the Society.
3. Archæologia Cantiana. Vol. xviii. From the Kent Ar-
chæological Society.
4. The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. viii. No. 2. Text
and Plates. From the Hellenic Society.
5. Laws of the United States relating to Loans, Currency,
Coinage, and Banking. From H. Phillips, Esq., jun.
6. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. ix. Part III.
From the Institute.
7. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Bd. XV. Part IV. From the
Editor.
8. Der Sterlingfund bei Rebnitz. By H. Dannenberg. From
the Author.
9. The Coinage of Scotland. 8 vols. By Edward Burns.
From James Coats, Jun., Esq.

The Chairman proposed, and Mr. Montagu seconded, a special vote of thanks to Mr. James Coats for his valuable donation of Mr. Burns's work on Scottish coins, and desired to express on behalf of the Society its appreciation of the great service rendered to the study of Scottish numismatics by the production of this national work.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited an aureus of Trajan Decius (A.D. 244—251) having for reverse type VBERITAS AVG., Fertility standing holding bag and cornucopie. This coin came from the Belfort collection.

Sir A. Cunningham communicated a paper on coins of the Indo-Scythian king Miaüs or Heraüs. (See vol. viii, p. 47.)

APRIL 19, 1888.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

M. Hodgkinson Bobart, Esq., was elected a Member of the
Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the
table :—

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 11—15, 1888.
From the Publishers.
2. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien.
No. 56. From the Society.
3. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland. Nos. 73—74. From the Association.
4. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 2^{me} livraison, 1888. From the Society.
5. Répertoire des Sources Imprimées de la Numismatique Française. By A. Engel and R. Serrure. Tom. I. From the Authors.
6. Verzeichniss der Münzsammlung des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Museums Vaterländischen Alterthümer. Bd. I. By Drs. Hendelsmann and Klander. From the Directors.
7. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. ix. Part IV.
From the Institute.
8. Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Parts 40—44. From the Academy.
9. Bulletin Historique de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. 145th livraison. From the Society.
10. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Part I. From the Editor.
11. Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Bd. ii,
Heft IV. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

12. The Coin Collectors' Journal. No. 147. From the Editor.

13. Catalogue des Monnaies Mussulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (Khalifs Orientaux.) By H. Lavoix. From the Author.

14. Moneta Novgoroda. Moneti Pskovskiya and Ruskiya Monetui. By G. S. Tolstoi. From the Author.

15. Guide to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland: Second Edition. Part I. By the late Colonel Thorburn. From the Publishers.

Mr. B. V. Head exhibited, on behalf of Mr. J. W. Trist, some very clever modern forgeries of rare Greek coins, the originals of which are nearly all in the British Museum. These coins were purchased at the sale of a well-known collection of Greek coins held in London in June last, and now notorious for the number of forgeries it contained. The coins were presented by Mr. Trist to the Society as specimens of ingenious forgeries.

Mr. Evans exhibited, on behalf of Mr. C. H. Drinkwater, a barbarous copy of a Venetian sequin of Aloysio Mocenigo (1768—78), struck recently for circulation in North Africa. On the obverse, instead of the Venetian legend SIT . T . XPE . DAT . Q . TV REGIS ISTE DVCA., are the words IOHANNES ILLE COQVVS SVI FILIIQVE. The reverse legend contains a meaningless imitation of the name Mocenigo.

Mr. J. G. Hall exhibited an aureus of Licinius I, struck at Siscia, probably soon after A.D. 307, the bust on the obverse of which bears a marked resemblance to that of Diocletian.

The Rev. G. F. Crowther exhibited some unpublished varieties of coins of Charles I, viz., a Shrewsbury half-crown, a York threepence, and a contemporary forgery of the Tower shilling of 1638, weighing less than 76 grains.

Mr. H. Montagu exhibited a number of rare patterns in gold and silver of Charles II, chiefly by Simon.

Mr. H. Montagu read a translation, by himself, of a paper by

Dr. Graetz, of Breslau, on the Jewish shekels bearing the types of the Lulab and the Portal, the latter of which Dr. Graetz sought to prove to be a representation of a façade of a festival tabernacle. The writer also argued that no genuine shekels of the time of the second revolt were in existence. The paper will be found in vol. viii, p. 165.

MAY 17, 1888.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

Ernest Baggallay, Esq., M.A., Major B. Lowsley, R.E., and
M. Arthur Engel, were elected Members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:

1. Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. Nos. 16—19, 1888.
From the Publishers.
2. Bulletin Mensuel de Numismatique et d'Archéologie. 5th year, Nos. 8—9. By R. Serrure. From the Editor.
3. Catalogue of the Coins of the Government Central Museum, Madras. No. 1, Mysore. By E. Thurston. From the Museum.
4. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1886—7. From the Society.
5. Guide to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland. By Colonel Thorburn. Second Edition. Parts II, III. From the Publishers.
6. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 58. From the Society.
7. Journal of the Institute of Bankers. Vol. iv, Part V. From the Institute.

Mr. Laurence exhibited a penny of Edward IV, mint-mark pall, with quatrefoils at sides of neck, struck at Canterbury ; a groat of Edward IV, mint-mark on obverse, star ; on reverse, crown ; also a penny of Mary with a pomegranate between words of legend on both sides.

Mr. Hall exhibited a cast of a gold coin of Constantine the Great struck at Siscia, *rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI*, bearing, like the coin of Licinius exhibited by Mr. Hall at the last meeting, a portrait resembling Diocletian.

Mr. Churchill exhibited a penny of a Danish king, probably Magnus the Good, 1042—1047, with the name of the English moneyer LEFVINE ON LINCO on the reverse.

Mr. Copp exhibited a proof or pattern sovereign of the Sydney mint, dated 1855, with a head of the Queen on the obverse almost identical with that on the ordinary English sovereign.

Mr. B. V. Head read a paper by M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, on some rare and unpublished Greek coins. (This paper. is given in vol. viii, p. 97.)

Mr. Hall read a paper on the prices realised by Roman Imperial aurei at the present time as compared with the prices realised by the same or similar coins in the last century, and the early part of the present century.

JUNE 21, 1888.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A., President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was then read to the meeting as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With great regret they have to announce their loss by death of the five following ordinary members :—

Prince Alfred Emmanuel de Cröy.

A. Harford Pearson, Esq.

Richard Popplewell Pullan, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.B.A.

George Sim, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

George B. Simson, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

And of the following Honorary Members :—

M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt.

M. Ch. Robert, Membre de l'Institut.

Also by resignation of the following five Ordinary Members :—

Robert Blair, Esq., F.S.A.

W. C. Pearson, Esq.

Captain C. H. I. Hopkins.

Mrs. Priestley.

G. J. Rowland, Esq.

The name of one Ordinary Member has also been erased from the list.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of sixteen new Members:—

G. M. Arnold, Esq.	J. L. Henderson, Esq.
Ernest Baggallay, Esq., M.A.	M. J. P. Lambros.
Rev. F. Binley-Dickinson.	Major B. Lowsley, R.E.
M. H. Bobart, Esq.	T. W. Minton, Esq.
M. W. Cockayne, Esq.	J. H. Pinches, Esq.
G. J. Crosbie-Dawson, Esq.	Major H. Trotter, C.B.
M. Arthur Engel.	Captain A. H. Warren.
J. Harris Gibson, Esq.	E. F. Weber, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report our numbers are, therefore, as follows:—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1886	242	36	278
Since elected	16	—	16
	258	36	294
Deceased	5	2	7
Resigned	5	—	5
Erased	1	—	1
June, 1887	247	34	281

The Council have also the honour to report that the copies of the Rules of the Society being out of print, they have carefully revised them, and have incorporated with them the regulations already sanctioned by the Society. They have also, after due consideration, thought fit to raise from Twelve Guineas to Fifteen Guineas the sum payable by Members who may desire to compound for their Annual Subscriptions.

With the exception of these additions, which will be found

under Sections XV and XVI, the Rules of the Society remain essentially unchanged.

Copies of the Rules as amended by the Council, will lie on the table for the approval of the meeting.

The Council have further the honour to announce that they have unanimously awarded the Medal of the Society in silver to Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer, of Winterthur, for his distinguished services to the Science of Numismatics as exemplified by his numerous works and articles on Greek coins.

The Treasurer's Report is as follows:—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1887, to June, 1888.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH ALFRED EVELYN COPP, TREASURER. Cr.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co., for printing Chronicle, Parts I. and II. of 1887 } " ditto ditto Part IV. of 1887	68 16 3 48 12 9 53 8 6 54 8 7	By Balance from last Statement Compositions " Entrance Fees " Annual Subscriptions Received for Chronicles :—	. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .	. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .	151 14 7 37 16 0 14 14 0 237 6 0		
" " The Autotype Company " Mr. John Finches, for Jubilee Medal " The Royal Asiatic Society, one Year's Rent due June, 1888 " Mrs. Parkinson, for Attodance " ditto for Tea, Coffee, &c. " Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for bookbinding " Messrs. Walker & Bowtell, for Photographing Coins " Miss Gay, for Modelling Medal " Daremberg & Seglio's Dictionnaire des Antiquités " Mr. F. Anderson, for Engraving " Mr. Joseph Swain, for ditto " Mr. W. Clements, for making and fixing Library Bookshelves } " Mr. R. O. Hearson, for Stationery, &c. " Fire Insurances	4 12 3 1 2 6 2 0 0 6 6 0 3 11 8 4 12 3 1 2 6 2 1 7 1 7 6 5 7 0 2 10 0 2 8 0 1 1 0 0 15 0	Canon Greenwell, his proportion of payment to the Autotype Company, included in last Statement Half-year's Dividend on £700 £3 per cent. Consols, due 5th July, 1887, less Property Tax Ditto on £700 £3 per cent. Consols, due 5th January, 1888 (less ditto) Three months' ditto due 5th April, 1888, on Conversion for New Consols Bonus of 5s. per cent. payable on Conversion of Consols Col. J. Tybin Bush, for foreign postage " Col. J. Tybin Bush, for foreign postage " Measrs. J. Davy & Son, for printing " Mr. T. B. Collings & Co., for engraving " Secretary, for Postages, &c. " Treasurer for Postages, Receipts, Stationery, &c. " Collector, for Commission and Postages " Balance in hand	7 18 0 10 3 11 10 3 11 5 2 0 0 2 0	55 15 8 55 15 8			
							£532 11 1 £28 18 7
							£532 11 1 £28 18 7

21st June, 1888.

ALFRED E. COPP,

Honorary Treasurer.

At the conclusion of the reading of the Report of the Council, the President addressed Mr. B. V. Head as follows :—

Mr. Head,—I much regret that Dr. Imhoof-Blumer is unable to attend here this evening to receive the medal which has been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of his long and valuable services to numismatics, especially those of ancient Greece. There is, however, no one in the Society who can appreciate more fully than you the long-continued and successful labours of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, and I am sure that you will be able to transmit to him, together with the medal which I now have the pleasure of placing in your hands, our assurance of the high esteem in which his works are held in this country, and of our sincere satisfaction in being able to pay this small tribute of respect to one to whom numismatic science is so deeply indebted.

When I look at the list of the numerous essays and larger works that have come from the pen of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, I am almost at a loss which of them to select for mention on an occasion like the present. Their issue has already extended over a period of twenty years, and German, French, and English numismatic periodicals have all been favoured with contributions from him. But, perhaps, above all his separate works, that on Greek Coins and on those of the Dynasty of Pergamon, and lastly the Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, written conjointly with our countryman, Prof. Percy Gardner, may be best cited as proofs of his learning and industry. In conveying this medal to him you will express our fervent hope that he may long be spared to continue his labours, and that future years may show that much as he has already accomplished, it is but a specimen of what he has still in store for historians and numismatists.

In reply Mr. Head said,—

Mr. President, it is with unmingled satisfaction that I rise to return thanks to you and to the Council of this Society in tho

place of my friend and fellow-worker, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, for the well-merited honour which you have conferred upon him. Before I say more I will, with your permission, read a portion of a letter from Dr. Imhoof, which he has sent to me in reply to my announcement that our medal had this year been awarded to him :—

“ DEAR MR. HEAD,—

“ When your letter was handed me this morning I thought I was about to have the rare opportunity of furnishing you with information on some numismatic question. Instead of this, and to my great surprise, your letter conveys to me the announcement that the Numismatic Society has conferred upon me a new and rare mark of distinction by inviting me to go and receive at its hands the medal of the Society. I am deeply touched by the consideration you and your colleagues have shown to the works of a foreigner, and as I have never sought for recognition of any kind, I feel all the greater pleasure when it comes thus unexpectedly from my English fellow-workers. My health, I am sorry to say, will not permit me to undertake the journey to London, I must therefore beg that you will yourself be kind enough to represent me at the general meeting, and to express my most grateful thanks both to the President and to the Society, and to assure them of my desire to prove myself in the future worthy of the high honour they have conferred upon me. * * * *

(Signed) “ F. IMHOOF-BLUMER.”

Now, Sir, before I sit down I should like to say a few words on my own account with regard to Dr. Imhoof's work in the past, and to what I trust we may look forward to from him in the future. I may be, perhaps, allowed to do this for the sake of those present this evening, if there be any such, who, having made a particular study of modern numismatics, may not be already familiar with the great reputation which Dr. Imhoof has attained as a Greek numismatist.

Dr. Imhoof began his numismatic career as a collector of fine and rare Greek coins. Little by little, however, as his collection increased he ceased to be a mere amateur, and became a scientific student, until at last he has come to occupy the foremost position in Europe as an authority on almost every branch of Greek numismatics.

In the course of his studies he has visited again and again all the great coin cabinets in Europe, both public and private, and has diligently added to his collection of originals casts of innumerable specimens selected far and wide. His original specimens alone now number nearly 20,000, and I am afraid to hazard a guess what the number of his casts may amount to. Including these I may safely say that the Imhoof cabinet is in many respects unrivalled either at Paris, London, or Berlin.

Several of my friends who have visited him at Winterthur tell me that his home is a complete museum of numismatics, and that he himself is an ideal custodian, who is always ready to place his wide knowledge at the disposal of the student, no matter whence he comes.

He has never been one of those dog-in-the-manger collectors whose one object in collecting would seem to be the pleasure they derive from filling their trays with unpublished specimens which they neither make known themselves nor allow others to publish for them. Dr. Imhoof, on the contrary, has always been eager to advance the cause of science by the publication of his treasures. I speak from experience, for when I was engaged on the compilation of my recent work, the *Historia Numorum*, it was brought very forcibly home to me that my Manual could hardly have been written at all had it not been for the ready aid which Dr. Imhoof was always willing to afford me. There is hardly a page in that book on which Dr. Imhoof is not cited as an authority, and I shall always feel that without his assistance my work would have been lacking in whatever scientific value it may now possess.

The authority of Dr. Imhoof's writings on Greek numis-

matics is now, I am happy to say, a matter of general recognition not only in his own country but throughout Europe.

The latest evidence of this recognition is the fact that the Royal Academy of Berlin has, on the recommendation of no less a person than the venerable Prof. Mommsen, selected Dr. Imhoof to compile a universal Corpus of Greek Coins.

This, indeed, is a grand undertaking, and one which I do not hesitate to say no other man than Dr. Imhoof could have ventured even to contemplate.

My own labours in the field of Greek numismatics enable me to speak with some knowledge of the enormous difficulties with which even Dr. Imhoof will find himself confronted in the colossal work to which, under great pressure, he has at last made up his mind to devote the remainder of his life.

I fervently trust that he may be spared to see this great and useful work brought to a successful termination, and I am proud this evening to stand here in his name and receive at the hands of our President the medal which I hope will be an earnest of the more lasting reward which he cannot fail to reap as the editor of the great *Corpus Numorum* of the future.

The President then delivered the following address:—

The time has again come round when it becomes my duty to offer you a few words in the form of an Annual Address, and I may, as I have now for some years been able to do, congratulate the Society on its prosperous condition. As you have heard from the Report of the Council our losses by death and other causes have been but eleven, while sixteen new members have been elected, so that at the present time the Society numbers 247 exclusive of its honorary members.

We therefore have entered upon the second half century of our existence in a highly satisfactory manner so far as numbers are concerned, and our Treasurer's statement shows that not-

withstanding the heavy call upon our resources, resulting from the issue of our Jubilee Medal, the finances of the Society are in a healthy condition.

Beyond the distribution of this medal among the members of the Society, there is no event of importance in our career to which I need call attention on the present occasion. I may, however, mention that in consequence of its having been found necessary to reprint the Rules of the Society, the Council have taken the opportunity of revising them, with the view of making them both more comprehensive and more comprehensible, and they have been submitted to you for your approval at this meeting. The alterations, which are not extensive, have already been pointed out to you, and will, I think, have commended themselves to your judgment.

The medal of the Society, as you are all aware, has this year been bestowed upon one of our most distinguished foreign members, Dr. Imhoof-Binmer. I am sure that all the Society, and especially those members who are interested in Greek Numismatics, will cordially concur in the award to one who has done so much to advance and at the same time popularize our science.

I must now dwell for a short time upon the losses which during the past twelve months death has caused in our ranks. Among our ordinary members they have, I am glad to say, been fewer in number than usual, but among those who have gone from among us there are some whom we could ill afford to lose.

Mr. Richard Popplewell Pullan, F.S.A., M.R.I.B.A., who had been a member of our body since the year 1863, died at Brighton on the 30th of April last. He was, however, better known as an architect and an antiquary than as a numismatist. In the former capacity he published jointly with Texier a work on "Byzantine Architecture" and "The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor," and in the latter he assisted Sir C. T. Newton in the exploration of Halicarnassus, and more recently Sir John

Savile Lumley in his excavations at Lavinium and Lake Nemi, an account of which has appeared in the *Archæologia*.

Mr. George Sim, F.S.A.Scot., had for very many years been a member of our Society and a contributor to the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In 1861 he communicated to the Society a short paper, in which he showed that the "Lee Penny," which in a recent edition of Sir Walter Scott's novels had been described as a "shilling" of Edward I, was actually formed of a groat of Edward IV, of the London mint.¹ From that time forward he was in the habit of favouring us with notices of the principal discoveries of coins that took place in Scotland. The last of these notices referred to the great hoard found at Aberdeen, consisting of no less than 12,236 coins, the whole of which were examined and for the most part determined by Mr. Sim. Though his taste lay more among ancient than mediæval coins, he was no mean authority on the latter, and it was mainly through his exertions that on the death of Mr. Edward Burns the important work on the coinage of Scotland, which he had undertaken at the request of the late Mr. Thomas Coats of Ferguslie, was completed and finally published, though Mr. Sim did not survive to see it issued from the press.

Mr. Sim's private collection of coins was very extensive, and comprised at least 12,000 coins, of which about 2,000 were in silver. His Greek series was the most important, consisting of nearly 8,500 coins, of which many are of great rarity and importance. A privately-printed Catalogue exists of which 100 copies only were struck off in 1879, from which it appears that many of the coins are the identical pieces described by the late Dr. Scott in a succession of papers in the First Series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

Personally he was one of the kindest and simplest of men, and I can look back with much pleasure to a long series of

¹ See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. iv, p. 222.

numismatic and antiquarian gatherings beneath his hospitable roof, to which he was good enough to invite me on the occasion of my annual visits to Edinburgh.

Among our Honorary Members we have lost the Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt, elected in 1878, and M. l'Intendant Général Charles Robert, Membre de l'Institut, elected in 1892.

M. de Ponton d'Amécourt was well known as one of the founders of the Société Française de Numismatique, as an accomplished numismatist, and as having formed almost, if not quite, the finest private collections of Roman aurei and of Merovingian coins that were ever brought together. Already in 1855, an essay of his on the attribution of a Gaulish coin appeared in the *Revue de Numismatique*, and shortly afterwards he began to devote his principal attention to the Merovingian and Carlovingian Series. Of the former his cabinets contained nearly 1,700 examples at the time of his decease. By the year 1868, his series comprised upwards of 1,200 Merovingian coins, and his *Essai sur la Numismatique Mérovingienne comparée à la Géographie de Grégoire de Tours*, which appeared in that year, proves how well he was able to appreciate the information to be derived from the coins. For the list of his other works in this department I must refer to the memoir of d'Amécourt from the pen of M. Caron, which will be found in the *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique* for 1888.

His collection of Roman gold coins was equally remarkable. Those who visited the Exhibition at the Trocadéro in Paris in 1878, must have been struck by the remarkable series of between 600 and 700 then on view, but the collection had increased to a thousand pieces when M. d'Amécourt determined on its sale by auction in the spring of last year. The Illustrated Catalogue, then prepared, with its 37 autotype plates of the coins, forms a real handbook for the collector of the Roman gold series. Even those who acquired desiderata at this sale must have felt some compunction in aiding to disperse what had been brought together with such skill, perseverance, and expense.

On one occasion M. Ponton d'Amécourt gave this Society the benefit of his intimate acquaintance with the Merovingian coinage, having in 1872 favoured us with an essay on the remarkable hoard of gold coins found at Crondal, Hants,² which set at rest many questions connected with the coins, and afforded grounds for supposing that out of the 96 specimens found, nearly one half had been struck in this country. Not a few of the attributions of the earlier pieces described in Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, are in the main due to M. d'Amécourt's perspicacity.

While still engaged on the study of the Merovingian royal coinage he was attacked by a tedious illness which resulted in his death, on the 20th of January of the present year, in the sixty-third year of his age.

His friend and colleague, M. Pierre Charles Robert, predeceased him by a few weeks only, but he had already entered on his seventy-sixth year, having been born in 1812. Having studied at Metz and at the École Polytechnique, he became a Lieutenant of Engineers in 1834, and after passing through successive grades in the army and seeing much service, he finally retired in 1877. So early as 1842 M. Robert commenced his career as a numismatic writer, and in 1844 one of his important monographs, *Recherches sur les monnaies des évêques de Toul*, made its appearance. At that time he was in garrison at Lille, and was already laying the foundations of two other important works—the *Études Numismatiques sur une partie du Nord-est de la France*, and the *Numismatique de Cambrai*, which were published in 1852 and 1862 respectively. Apart from these a very large number of essays and monographs relating to Gaulish, Roman, Merovingian, and French numismatics came from his active pen, the last appearing during the present year. There was one subject in Roman numismatics which he made especially his own—the history of contorniate medallions, of which he possessed one of the finest collections ever formed.

² *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. xiii, p. 72.

Five of his essays upon this subject appeared in various periodicals. He was also a devoted antiquary and student of epigraphy, and at one time was President of the Society of Antiquaries of France. In 1871 he became a member of the Institute, and took an active part in the proceedings of the Académie des Inscriptions.

To give some idea of the extent of his numismatic labours, I may mention that appended to a memoir of him by M. Raymond Serrure,³ to which I am much indebted, there is appended a list of no less than sixty-five works and articles in this department of archaeology alone. As the centre of a large circle of friends, whom he was ever ready to serve, his loss will be widely felt in France, and by not a few on this side of the Channel.

There are three other names which I think that I ought to mention, though they are not those of numismatists who at the time of their decease were members of our body. I mean those of the Rev. C. W. King, M. Paul Lambros, and Admiral Spratt. Mr. King was better known as our first authority on ancient gems than as a writer on numismatics; but a love and knowledge of coins is essential to any one who would wish to appreciate the art, the portraiture, or the classical and mythological allusions to be found on engraved gems. Of his works on *Antique Gems and Rings*, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, his *Horace*, and numerous other publications, I need hardly speak; but I may call attention to his treatise on *Early Christian Numismatics*, to a paper in the *Archæological Journal* on the true nature of the Contorniate Medals, and to a letter from him in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1845 on a coin with the mint-mark **LON**, and on another of Carausius.⁴ For the last fifty years, except during occasional absence in Italy, he resided at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was the Senior Fellow.

Another name that I will cite is that of M. Paul Lambros, who died at Athens on the 11th October last, at the age of sixty-eight

³ *Ann. de la Soc. Franc. de Num.*, 1888, p. 100.

⁴ Vol. xviii, 1871, p. 210.

years. He was born in Epirus in 1819, and at an early age, having lost his father under the Turkish domination, had to emigrate to Corfu, where he received his education, and soon developed a special taste for Numismatics. He subsequently established himself at Athens, where he became an active worker in public life, and gained for himself a high character not only as a dealer in coins and antiquities, but as a writer on Numismatic subjects. His knowledge of mediæval coins, and especially those of the dynasties of the Crusaders, was most extensive and accurate, and M. G. Seblumberger acknowledges with gratitude the great assistance rendered to him by M. Paul Lambros in the preparation of his great work, the *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*. His published works and papers exceed twenty in number, and relate, not only to mediæval, but to ancient coins. His treatise on the coins of the Island of Amorgos forms the basis of an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1873.⁵ One of his latest works includes a notice of the coins and medals struck for the Ionian Islands while under British rule.

In Admiral Spratt, who, within the last twelve months, communicated to us a paper on some gold coins from Crete, the world has lost an ardent antiquary and excellent geographer, and many of us a sincere friend.

In looking back upon our meetings during the past year, I think that I may safely say that on an average they have been more fully attended than in former years, and that the various exhibitions and papers that have been laid before us have not been less than usually interesting. The *Numismatic Chronicle* has, I think, been quite up to its usual standard, both in the importance and the variety of its contents, and I shall proceed to pass in review the principal subjects to which our attention has been called in its pages.

The electrum coinage of Cyzicus, on which such an exhaustive paper was communicated by Canon Greenwell to the last volume of our Chronicle, has continued to occupy the attention of the

⁵ *Nam. Chron. N.S.*, vol. xiii, p. 125.

Society, and papers upon it have appeared from the pens of Professor Gardner and Mr. B. V. Head. The former has discussed the exchange value of the Cyzicene stater, and concludes that in all probability the Cyzicene and the Daric, notwithstanding the argument to the contrary derived from the Oration of Demosthenes against Phermio, were equivalent. Judging from the specific gravity it would appear that in the Cyzicene the proportion of silver to gold is about 54 per cent., and taking the proportionate value of gold to silver as about 14 to 1, the resulting values of the Cyzicene of electrum and the Daric of gold very closely agree. The rate of exchange between Attic drachms and the staters of Cyzicus varied even more than would be the case with similar currencies at the present day, in accordance with geographical position and means of intercourse.

Mr. Head, reverting to a subject that he dealt with in 1875, has gone more fully into the details of the ancient coins of electrum, giving in the first place particulars of such coins recently acquired for the British Museum, both as regards types and weight, and in the second, tables shewing the composition of early electrum coins calculated from their specific gravities. It would appear from these tables that there is a great range in the colour of the metal, and in the proportion of gold that they contain, which varied from 5 to 80 per cent. The question is, however, much complicated by the probability of there being a small percentage of copper in some of the coins, inasmuch as this metal would affect the colour, and also the specific gravity as being less heavy than silver. It is, moreover, to be observed that most of the coins here dealt with are either of the Phœnician or of the Euboic standard, and not of the Phocaic, which is that of the Cyzicenes. The few coins of this class that were examined give a somewhat larger percentage of gold than those cited by Professor Gardner, perhaps because they belong to an earlier period.

I have already briefly mentioned the paper on three gold coins from Crete communicated to us by the late Admiral Spratt, F.R.S., F.S.A. It was but a few years ago that gold coins struck in

this island were almost unknown, not a single specimen being mentioned in the British Museum Catalogue published so recently as 1886. Since that date, however, a few specimens, besides those acquired by Admiral Spratt, have made their appearance,⁶ and probably future excavations will make us acquainted with many more. Their small size and light weight seems indicative of gold having been very scarce in the island.

Mr. Warwick Wroth has given us an account of the Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1887, among which may be noted a fine and unique tetradrachm of Maronea, and a Jewish shekel of the year 5. A stater of Abydos with the name of Metrodoros; a tetradrachm of Antiochus IX, and a coin of Polemo II, of Pontus, with the name of his mother Antonia Tryphaena on the reverse, are also remarkable coins. Some other additions to the Museum Series of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India have been described by Professor Gardner. Foremost among these stands out a unique and most interesting decadrachm, for which the nation is indebted to the liberality of Mr. A. W. Franks. On it are represented a Macedonian horseman attacking two warriors who are mounted on an elephant, and on the other side a king with the attributes of Zeus. An accompanying monogram may be that of Alexander the Great. There can be little doubt that this medal—for so we may venture to call it—commemorates a victory of some Græco-Bactrian king over a horde of Scythic invaders, but it is unfortunate that those who struck it forgot that after-ages might not be so well acquainted with the historical events of the second century B.C. as those who lived in it; and that glorious and never-to-be-forgotten victories over which a whole kingdom rejoiced, might pass into the realms of oblivion. Among the Bactrian additions to the Museum collection are hitherto unpublished examples of the coinage of Diomedes, Strato and Agathocleia, Philoxenus, and Hermæus.

Sir A. Cunningham has given us a paper on the coins of

⁶ See *Num. Chron.* 1888, pp. 13, 14.

the Indo-Scythian King Miaüs or Heraüs—showing cause why the former reading on some coins with rather obscure legends should be preferred. Instead of attributing these pieces to Heraüs, King of the Sakas, he assigns them to Miaüs, a ruler of the Kushans, and fixes their date in the latter half of the first century B.C. Some curious extracts from Chinese records are cited in corroboration of his views. Of all living authorities on the Graeco-Indian coinage, Sir A. Cunningham ranks the highest, and we have only to turn to the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle* to bring home to our minds the value and extent of his services to that branch of Numismatics. The choicest of his coins of Alexander's successors in the East he has, with great liberality, offered for purchase by the Trustees of the British Museum, who, however, owing to the unprecedented manner in which the grant for purchases has been cut down by the Treasury, have no funds at their command. It remains to be seen whether an application to the Government for a special grant to purchase these memorials of our great precursors as European rulers in the East will be successful, or whether a series of coins of the highest national interest to Englishmen will, owing to mistaken parsimony, either be dispersed, or find a resting place in one of the Continental Cabinets.

But to return to our own Proceedings. Our honorary member, M. J. P. Six, of Amsterdam, has sent us a long and interesting paper on some unpublished Greek coins, including some which he attributes to Phlius, Phenens, Thaliadæ, Issos, and Cyprus. He also describes some interesting coins of Tissaphernes, Baalram, and Baalmelek II., Kings of Cittim, and of Sabaces, Satrap of Egypt under Darius. The paper is one of considerable importance, and the transference of the unique coin recently attributed by Mr. Head to Aegina to Phlins, and of the archaic coins with what may be termed *totems* on the obverse, such as the Germans call *Wappenmünzen*, to the cities of Peloponnesus rather than to those of Eubœa, will probably lead to further discussion.

A paper on the Jewish coinage, by Dr. Graetz of Breslau, has been kindly translated and communicated to the Society by Mr. Montagu. It has not as yet been printed, but it will be found to contain some curious illustrations of Jewish manners and customs, and some suggestions well worthy of consideration, though the author is evidently better acquainted with history and literature than with actual coins and their characteristics.

In Roman numismatics we have had a few papers, one of them by Mr. C. Roach Smith, on a hoard of Roman coins found at Springhead, Kent, and mainly of the time of Postumus, though including specimens of Tetricus II. It belongs to a troubled period when many such hoards were deposited for safe keeping in the ground.

Another paper by my son, Mr. Arthur Evans, relates to a coin which, though evidently an imitation of a familiar piece of Constans or Constantius II, bears on the obverse the legend DOMINO CARAVSIO CES, and on the reverse DOMIN . . . CONTA . . . NO. The suggestion of the author is that the legend on the reverse refers to the Emperor Constantine III, who had dominion in Britain in the early years of the fifth century, and that the Carausius of the obverse was a Caesar appointed by him. That the name of Carausius still survived in Britain is proved by the monumental inscription at Pennalchno, Caernarvonshire, in which the ligatures and forms of the letters singularly approximate to those on the coin. There is, however, no necessity for identifying the Carausius of the coin with the person of the same name recorded on the sepulchral slab. It will require further evidence to establish beyond all doubt the existence of a Carausius the Second, but the legend on the coin gives the name clearly and accompanied by titles which do not belong to Carausius the First; and whether we accept the author's conclusions or reserve our judgment, all will acknowledge the interest and value of his historical dissertation.

The only other paper relating to the Roman period is one in which I have given an account of a hoard of silver coins found at East Harptree, near Bristol. It consisted of nearly 1,500 coins, extending from the time of Constantine the Great to that of Gratian. Among these were several of rarity and interest, which by the liberality of Mr. Kettlewell, on whose property the hoard was found, have been presented to the British Museum.

Turning to the Saxon coinage, I find that Mr. Nathan Heywood has given us a woodcut of a styca, which he attributes, with good show of reason, to Elfwald II of Northumbria. He has also favoured us with an account of a small hoard of stycas, including one in silver of Vigmund.

Mr. Samuel Smith, junior, has again raised the question whether the Anglo-Saxon coins were always struck at the towns named on them. Certain it is that, like the coin of Magnus of Denmark that he adduces, there are many Danish coins which purport to have been struck by English moneyers at English towns, and though the use of surnames was in the eleventh century hardly established, yet it seems possible that the moneyers who went over to Denmark, and such there apparently were, retained as a sort of surname the name of the town whence they came. Even then the use of the word ON, which signifies in, instead of OF, is remarkable. Both the late Archdeacon Pownall and Mr. Ernest Willett have had something to say on this question. If the view of the latter be correct that in some cases the moneyers were itinerant, and the name of the town gave the place where they happened to be working, and was changed from time to time as they moved from one town to another, an additional difficulty is raised in regarding the town name as a sort of permanent surname. In whatever way we are to account for the abnormal appearance of the names of English moneyers and towns on Danish and Irish coins, I think that, looking at the constitution of the English mints, we must hesitate before we can accept any view which implies that the name of a town when it appears on an

English coin is not indicative of the place where it was struck.

Perhaps this will be the proper place for mentioning the interesting paper by Dr. Hans Hildebrand on the earliest Scandinavian coinage, obligingly abridged for us by Mr. Keary. The modifications which the Dorstat coins of Charlemagne underwent in their transmission northwards afford another instance of the manner in which a type may entirely lose its original meaning, of which the ancient British coinage affords such good instances.

The papers relating to the English coinage have not been of very high importance, but Mr. Crowther has written a valuable paper on the groats of the second coinage of Henry VII, in which he has gone far towards establishing the true sequence of the different mint-marks. Mr. Montagu has called our attention to a number of unpublished gold coins of James I, and to some of the Commonwealth; Mr. Symonds to a penny of Henry VIII; Mr. Walter Andrew to a passage in de Taxter's Chronicle relating to the issue of the short-cross coinage; Mr. Webster to an ingenious falsification of an American dollar, and Mr. Pixley to the North Borneo coinage.

A paper relating to some peculiar Milanese types has been communicated to us by Mr. Hall, who has illustrated the type of St. Ambrose charging on horseback with his triple scourge from a sixteenth-century painting, probably by Giovenone of Vercelli, in his own possession.

With regard to medallic art, a paper by Mr. J. Whitcombe Greene, giving a *résumé* of M. Adolph Erman's Essay on the German medallists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, will be read with interest; while those by Mr. Grueber on English Personal Medals from 1760, will be found to contain much illustrative historical matter.

It only remains for me to notice Part VI of the *Fasti Arabici*, by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, which gives notices of rare Arabian and other coins from the collections of Colonel Gosset, Major

Trotter, and Mr. Avent, which will, as usual, be found to contain information of value to the Oriental numismatist.

Of separate numismatic publications that have appeared within the last year, there do not seem to be many that require special notice. The British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins has, however, received an important addition in respect of the coins of Attica, Megaris, and Aegina, which have been described by Mr. Head. The introduction, which extends over nearly sixty pages, gives an exhaustive account of the present state of our knowledge with regard to these three important coinages, and adds most materially to the value of the Catalogue. The illustrations as usual consist of autotype plates, which in this volume are twenty-six in number. Admirably as photographic processes serve for the reproduction of well-preserved coins, or of those in gold and silver which are only subject to abrasion, and not like those in copper and its alloys to corrosion, yet it must be acknowledged that for these latter it is at times eminently unsatisfactory. A legend or type which on the original coin may be fairly legible or visible, becomes often almost imperceptible in a cast, and disappears in a photograph. To appreciate this we have only to compare some of the figures in the plates, such, for instance, as Pl. XVII. 1, with the description in the text. In such cases a representation by an engraver, even if less accurate than that by a photographer, gives, on the whole, a more faithful idea of the coin. The great difficulty in this country is to find an engraver with any appreciation of a coin, but I hope that difficulty may be overcome.

Mr. R. Stuart Poole, who is the official editor of these catalogues, has himself compiled and issued one on the coins of the Shahs of Persia from A.D. 1502 to the present day. In this volume also the introduction forms an important feature, and embodies the first attempt at any exact chronology of the reigns of the Persian Shahs that is to be found in any European work.

Among recently published foreign works I may mention the first volume of the Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the Berlin

Cabinet, which has been drawn up on much the same lines as our own Museum catalogues. It conclusively shows how important the collection is, and how great has been the zeal and assiduity of late years in adding to it, towards which the German Government has contributed with no stinted liberality.

I may also say a few words on the completion of M. Ernest Babelon's *Description Historique et Chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine*, which, though to some extent a second edition of Cohen's *Médailles Consulaires*, and embodying his plates in the form of cuts inserted in the text, treats of the history and chronology of the coins in a far more exhaustive and scientific manner. The labours of Cavedoni, Borghesi, and Mommsen, have done much to illustrate the interesting series of coins of which M. Babelon treats, and he has conscientiously availed himself of all that they have done, so that his work may be regarded as embodying the whole of our present knowledge in this department. It is in consequence indispensable to the student of Roman numismatics.

I have little more to add. The interest taken in this country in numismatic pursuits is abundantly manifested by the high prices that coins have realised at the numerous and important sales that have taken place during the past year. The zeal for collecting is in itself commendable, and eventually advantageous to knowledge, but I trust that it will ever be borne in mind that the true value and interest of coins consist in the light that they throw on contemporary history, art, and literature. Some slight variations in a detail in the die of a modern engraver are of interest, as showing the phases through which his mind must have passed during the period he was carrying out some principal idea; but it is a question that has occasionally crossed my mind whether the pecuniary value which attaches to these variations in the case of modern coins, is a real criterion of their actual value and importance. However this may be, it is gratifying to find that the number of coin-collectors is apparently on the increase, and I make but little doubt that this

circumstance will tend both to the preservation of coins from destruction and to the advancement of that knowledge to promote which this Society was founded.

It only remains for me now to express my thanks to the Council and the Society for their cordial co-operation with me during the past year, and for the kind manner in which they have listened to me on the present occasion.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected :—

President.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.,
F.G.S.

Vice-Presidents.

H. MONTAGU, Esq., F.S.A.
R. STUART POOLE, Esq., LL.D.

Treasurer.

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